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THE GOSPEL FOR US ALL

It was the Prophet Micah of the Old Testament who asked, "O man, . . . what doth the L O R D require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Justice, kindness and humility form indeed the trinity of virtues that would turn this world into a paradise for mankind. It was Micah's privilege and glory to give expression to this thought and it has been mankind's glory and is still his privilege to accept these virtues as ideals. It is glorious too, that history has known many individuals who have been just, kind and humble in their lives. Innumerable have been the men and women that, unknown to History, have also lived godly lives and enriched humanity by their virtues.

But others of us continue to fall far short of the ideals that mankind has accepted. This we know and, on occasion, admit about ourselves. We wish we were different and better. We feel our inability to measure up to mankind's ideals, and we are only troubled when we consider our failures to meet God's requirements.

There came another Messenger from God to mankind. His message did not emphasize the demands and requirements that God made, but rather announced the gifts that God offered to man. These gifts would help mankind to fulfill God's requirements and at the same time enable him best to meet the noblest demands that any man could make of himself.

What are the gifts of God that Jesus, His Word, brought to mankind?

Let us look at them only as they are recorded in the Gospel according to John.

There in the First Chapter we are told that Jesus is the

Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world. Without giving attention now to the symbolism and meaning of the term 'Lamb of God,' we learn that Jesus Christ will do for us what we cannot do for ourselves.

We all acknowledge, at least at times, that we should not sin. We may excuse ourselves by saying that we cannot help it, but we know that we should be wholly pure, always just, merciful and humble. Can we then, of ourselves, make up for our failures? Can we be more than wholly righteous to pay for the times when we were less good than God requires us always to be? Can we miss the mark, stray from the path, disobey and sin, and then begin again to obey and say, "All is well," as if nothing wrong had happened?

We need someone to take away our sin. The Gospel tells us that God offers to do that through Jesus Christ.

There is another and still greater gift offered to us early in the Gospel according to John. It is the most valuable good that we could have. It is eternal life.

Eternal life is something we cannot earn for ourselves. Our mortal life, even if it were perfect, could not provide us with such an excess of goodness and virtues, either in quality or quantity, for us to buy or win or deserve immortal life in eternal bliss. But the infinite goodness, mercy and love of God desires us to have just that kind of eternal life. The Gospel according to John tells us that we may have eternal life through faith in Jesus Christ.

There are people in the world who are unconcerned about their sins and whose ideals do not include justice, mercy and humility. Their aims are confined to what this world provides. Their desires are for power for themselves and dominion over others. They want what belongs to others and seize it by trickery and violence, depriving the owners of even a share of what they formerly possessed, liquidating them to prevent opposition and restoration.

But there are other people in the world who are concerned about the ideal life for themselves as individuals and for mankind in general. Even when they seek what is best for themselves, it is sure to involve no loss or injury to others.

Indeed, when many desire what is good for themselves, it is so that others may also have what is good. Mankind still considers those to be noblest who have been completely unselfish.

Not man's history but man's hope has given him a picture of the Kingdom of God. Heaven is where none have sorrow; none weep; none are dissatisfied; none lack; none are sick and none die.

The testimony of centuries and millenia is that man does not become noble or promote the welfare of the world by wronging any part of mankind. Man does not create a heaven below by violating the principles of heaven above.

"Sin no more," said Jesus to individuals. No violence or strife did He commit or permit against any group. He ever healed and helped others and restored some to life. His own mortal life He would not save. It is the word of God to man that our sin may be taken away and that eternal life may be ours through faith in Jesus Christ.

What evidence did Jesus give that what He said is true and that what He did in laying down His life has eternal value?

The Gospel according to John contains all the proof needed by any man. There are miracles in the record, such as the turning of water into good wine, the immediate healing of a thirty-eight-year-old infirmity, the giving of sight to a man born blind and the raising to life of Lazarus.

There is other evidence also. "Never man spake like this man." His are the highest ideals ever taught to man. The truth of what He said testifies to its own validity and worth. It is self-consistent and convincing. What we need and want is that the truth He taught should become actual in fact, become real in our lives and in the life of the world.

Jesus lived the Gospel. His life carried out and confirmed what He taught. His death, being innocent, undeserved and voluntary, proved His goodwill. His resurrection verified Him to be the Savior of the world and certified that His offers to take away sin and to give eternal life are valid for all who will believe.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

During the last few years Beirut, Lebanon, has become in an increasing manner the publishing center for Arabic Scriptures. Books are not only sent to Iraq, Jordan and Egypt but also to Algiers and Morocco. They are printed at the American Press in Beirut and also at other commercial presses, including some under Muslim direction. An outstanding recent event was the conclusion, after many difficulties, of a contract with the Catholic Press, Beirut, to print ten thousand copies of the Jesuit Arabic Bible (without the Apocrypha and the usual notes and comments). It is the first time in history that this has been done. Slowly the old type plates of the Bible in the American Arabic translation are being replaced by clear modern type. All four Gospels are now available in this new style. A pocket New Testament in two colours has been warmly welcomed in our constituency. An illustrated Gospel of S. Luke, in magazine form, similar to that published in America, is now in print and will be ready shortly. Also in the press are a new set of Bible maps both in Arabic and Armenian.

In 1949 an Advisory Council of the Bible Society for Syria and the Lebanon was formed to which members of all Churches, except the Roman Catholic, were elected. The Council meets regularly and has proved of great help. Under the patronage of H.E. the President of the Republic a Bible Festival was held in the Lebanon early in 1952. Radio Liban broadcast some of its activities. Advertisements and Bible verses are inserted more or less regularly into some fifteen newspapers and magazines, four of which are Muslim. Pretty 4-color posters, advertising Bible reading and purchasing, are displayed in street cars and shops. The Bible Society Depôt on the Place de l'Etoile in Beirut, continues to be a place where Muslims come for counsel and information,—drawn often by the open Scriptures in the large windows. For example, writes the Manager, Mr. Fuad Accad,

"a rich Iraqi entered the shop asking for the address of a merchant, saying he had been looking for him in vain for the last

hour. As he was tired I offered him a chair and told him to look in the telephone book for the merchant's address. As he was looking for this, I showed him a copy of our Arabic Bible, asking him whether he already possessed one. "No!" said he, "I am a Muslim." But after a little conversation about the Bible, the Book of the entire humanity, I had the joy of selling this man the Book and he was happy to have found his address and telephoned to his friend."

In the spring of 1950, a Depôt was opened in Damascus. It was a real venture of faith but time has shown it to be fully justified. It has been able to carry on its work in a steady and fruitful way, growing continually in significance as a Christian witness. Here the Depôt keeper, Yusuf, writes:

"As I was sitting in the upper part of the shop I saw from the window two Muslim sheikhs pointing to our shop, spitting on the ground and speaking to each other so angrily and loudly that a few people started to gather around them to find out the reason for their anger. Fearing the consequences of such a gathering in front of the shop, I very quickly went down and invited the two sheikhs to enter, so that we could talk together calmly. As soon as they entered I asked them why they were so angry? "Don't you know why?" they said. "Every pious Muslim should be like us when he sees that here in the holy city of Damascus, there is such a shop as yours with a big sign board on the street, where we read the words 'Holy Bible'. These words should not be displayed here." "If you say this," I answered, "you show that you are not respecting your own Qur'an and will be judged by God for this big neglect." "We shall see", continued they, still more angrily, "that a petition, signed by all the sheikhs of Damascus, will be presented to the Government asking the closing of this shop and the removal of this sign board. And what do you mean telling us that we shall be judged for neglecting our Qur'an?" "I mean" I replied "that your Qur'an mentions so many times the name of our Holy Book but you say that it is a bad thing and should be removed. Don't you see that you are acting against your own religion by doing this?" "Well" continued one of them "why don't you have your shop in the Christian quarter instead of having it here?." "It is shameful to ask me this question" answered I. "When the foreigners were masters of this land you were always saying that they divided us by creating among us religious fanaticism. Now the foreigner is no longer here but you are feeding this fanaticism more than ever by what you are say-

ing. Don't you know that we are all sons of the same beloved Syria, that we should live in peace together as such? . . . Do you want me to sell all sorts of bad books, like the library over the street there or to open a bar like my neighbor next door?" Becoming more conciliatory, one of them asked me: "But why don't you sell the Qur'an as well?" "You yourselves should answer this question" I replied. "For do you not yourselves say that no one should touch the Qur'an who is uncircumcised. . . . How do you want me to handle the Qur'an and sell it when you are unwilling for it even to be given." When they saw my firm position they became very respectful, said that I was right and even apologised for their former attitude saying that truly we were all brothers of one country. My joy was even greater when after more than two weeks one of the sheikhs came back and bought a copy of the Bible."

A colporteur in the Lebanon writes: "In Bkerkeh at the residence of His Beatitude the Maronite Patriarch, I am so nicely received now by the clergy, to whom I was able to sell last time 3 Bible Concordances, 5 Bibles and 2 New Testaments in several languages. The Bishops and high clergy have always opposed our work before. It is so nice to be received by them graciously." The same colporteur sold a New Testament to a zealous Communist, after a long conversation. "Since then he has always carried it in his pocket and every time he sees me he tells me how happy he is to have the book. He believes that its teachings are the only hope for reforming the world but asks: 'Where are those real Christians who can use it for that?'."

In 1949 and 1950 a special effort was made to distribute Scriptures among the Palestine refugees, encamped in Syria and the Lebanon. More than sixteen thousand books were given away freely by the help of local Churches and missions. In all in 1951 3508 Bibles were distributed, 2722 New Testaments and 33,400 portions. This makes a grand total of 39,630 books. "So the world of God increased . . . and the number of disciples multiplied. . . ." Acts 6:7.

SIEGFRIED FRIEDLIEB

Beirut, Lebanon.

THE ARAB CHURCH IN ISRAEL

The State of Israel is destined to play a major role in the political, economic and social life of the whole Middle East. It is a sort of reservoir of new forces waiting to break through and penetrate into the closed borders of the Arab States. The technical skill, the learning, the progressive development of social and economic life, the peculiar influence of Hebrew tradition and the vitality and energy of the Jewish people, have together changed the face of the land.

We are witnessing in Israel a rapid and strong growth and a new experiment in bringing together thousands of people from nearly every country under the sun, and making them take part in building up a new State in which different backgrounds, traditions and languages mingle together, within the ideals of Zionism, to shape, organize and complete a Jewish nation.

In this experiment or process, many problems and difficulties arise. While the new four-year old State tries to balance itself amid strong political and economic currents, the Christian Church has to adapt and prepare itself for the new situation. If the emergence of the new Israeli nation tends to overshadow the existence and work of the Christian Church, this is due not only to its own impressiveness but also to the weakness, disunity and apathy of the Christian Churches themselves. In one sense it might be said that there is no Christian Church in Israel—only the remnants of those Christians who left the country in the course of the establishment of the State of Israel.

There are the Churches which belong to the Roman Catholic order—the Greek Catholic, the Latin and the Maronite. These number approximately 15,500 in all. Then there are the oldest Churches, the Greek Orthodox and the Coptic, numbering 18,500 or so members. In their long history they have weathered many tragedies. The Protestant group is now less than one thousand, five hundred strong. These Churches are almost wholly composed of Arabic-speaking Christians. A variety of missions, it is true, are

working among the Jews, but a strong Christian Church of Jewish converts is not likely to emerge soon. The Arab Christianity within Israel is concentrated mainly in Galilee, where it is surrounded by Muslims and Druzes who together number about one hundred and thirty thousand. It faces many great difficulties, both material and political. The Israeli Ministry for Religious Affairs has created a department specially charged with matters relating to Christians. It tries as far as possible to help Christian institutions and to act as a liaison between them and the Government. But the particular difficulties turn upon the larger problem, which is really twofold. There is the general question of the whole life and destiny of the Arab minority and there is the spiritual issue relating to the faith, life and mission of the Arab Christian Churches.

Concerning the general question, it must be admitted that the Government of Israel, despite its repeated declarations of a generous attitude towards the Arab minority, considers the Arabs as a tolerated people who are not really wanted in the country. Military rule still exists in most Arab towns and villages. Schemes of development are wholly for the benefit of the Jewish settlers and villages—although something has been done to criticise the backwardness of Arab life. Moreover, in many places, the Arab landowner does not enjoy control over his lands, although he still has to pay very high taxes for them. Recent legislation will enable the Government to expropriate lands for development purposes, for example, the building of new settlements for immigrants. There is real danger that in a short time many of the remaining Arabs will decide to leave the country because they have lost all means of economic support. These political and economic uncertainties create for the Arab minority restlessness and fear.

However, to look at the matter from the inside, we come to the second issue, which is spiritual and moral. We must admit that the Arabs in general and the Christians in particular have degenerated tremendously. The Christian Churches are pre-occupied setting their own house in order and dealing

with the moral and spiritual problems of their people. There is disunity in Christian families and congregations. Even the Christian individual in himself is divided in his character, his loyalties and his principles.

The missionaries seem relatively uninterested in the indigenous Churches and concentrate wholly on their Jewish work. Very little is done to evangelize the Muslims and Druzes. Not that the missionaries will find any great welcome or audience, for their appeal has been weakened by the divisions in the Christian Church and by the confusion between the mission as such and the status of the missionaries as subjects of political powers whose record is seen with disfavor by the peoples of the East. I am not advocating here the cessation of missionary work, but explaining the factors that gravely impede it. Despite these hindrances the work of missions in Israel serves to strengthen the Christians in their witness and in the facing of their hardships. One great need is for a good secondary school and a trade school with boarding facilities to begin to meet the need of the thirty-five thousand Christians in Israel. There is not a single Protestant Christian secondary school in all Israel.

Something must be added about the challenge of Communism. The Communist Party in Israel is especially active among the Arabs, to whom it offers a working philosophy full of the promise of freedom and peace and a bright future. The Christian Churches, by and large, are unequipped intellectually or spiritually to meet this challenge. The Roman Catholic Church does everything it can to resist the Communists, but in a negative way. It is neither wise nor right to oppose any political force merely with negatives.

The Protestant Church in Israel is mostly composed of Arabic-speaking Anglicans, described in their own title as "The Evangelical Episcopal Community in Israel." A Church Council directs its affairs and administers property. It has nine Churches, three Church schools and a Christian periodical—"Al Akhbar al kanasiyya"—designed to serve the whole Christian body in Israel. Some of the property of this Community is still in the hands of the Custodian of Absen-

tees' Property but legal steps are being taken to receive back these properties through the formation of a new committee. We desire to serve the whole Church in the understanding of the faith and its propagation. We are also challenged to risk ourselves in reconciling the Jew and the Arab in Christ. Towards that reconciliation the Cross points the way for all of us. We have to teach our people to put their trust in God, not in political powers. We can only meet the crises and difficulties of the present time by seeing clearly the spiritual issues involved and lifting ourselves and others towards the Christian way. Among our most pressing material needs are:

(1) The monthly periodical "Al-Akhbār al kanasīyya"—could be greatly developed as a Christian journal in Israel. But printing costs are prohibitive. We shall welcome any material support to make it an effective instrument for the proclaiming of the Christian faith and the building up of the Church in truth and love.

(2) There is a great shortage of clergy. The Church Council needs help in training at least one candidate at the present time—cut off as it is from fellowship in this matter with the Jordan branch of the Arab Anglican Church. There is of course no theological school in Israel. A scholarship abroad would be a real aid in this objective.

(3) The Church Council has on its agenda a daring scheme for a Co-operative Farm on Christian lines. The land can be secured but without tools, machinery and technical help there is little hope of embarking upon this venture. Such an Agricultural Christian colony would be an opportunity for a unique social experiment in Christian living and the answer to sharp material problems. We invite the Protestant Churches of the West to study the scheme with us.

The writer will be happy to answer any questions which may be provoked by this brief outline of some of the burdens resting on the heart and mind of the Arab Christian Church within the borders of Zionist Israel.

RAFIQ A. FARAH

Haifa, Israel.

THE SEARCH IN OUR SOULS

AN ARAB LOOKS AT HIS WORLD

The following is taken with permission from an address given at the Fifth United Nations Institute, New York, February 15th, 1952, entitled "Understanding the Arab Mind." The speaker was Dr. Fayez Sayegh, lately Research Assistant at the Legation of Lebanon, Washington, D. C.

If I were to form a mental picture of the Arab world, depending solely upon the reports which I read in the American press from day to day, I doubt whether I would conceive of it as more than a vast stretch of land, floating on oil, with angry, irrational mobs chasing the "foreigner" out, at the behest of corrupt leaders striving to divert attention from their bankruptcy. But there is more to the Arab world than that. There is more in it too than deserts and palm trees and turbaned sheikhs on camel-back. . . . It is the home of human beings who share with the rest of mankind the universal craving for self-preservation and happiness and decent living, and who strive for light and vision.

[Editor: After analyzing in a frank and discerning manner the sources and character of Arab nationalism, the issue of Communism in Arab lands and the appeal of "neutralism" as a conscious will for isolation from the great world camps, the author takes up what he calls "the search for basic existential orientation," as underlying the surface political scene.]

The struggle for the Arab soul of the forces of westernization, communization, isolation and national self-containment, easternization, or more thorough Islamization, is far more than a temporary political struggle created by a complex of domestic and international circumstances and issuing in basic political decisions relevant to the contemporary global conflict. The struggle is a struggle for the Arab soul itself; it has existential, spiritual, cultural as well as political implications—and repercussions. Its outcome, far more than political in nature and import, will exert its influence far beyond the present or the immediate future. The quest is for basic orientation for Arab existence.

The crucial question of Arab destiny today is the question of directions; the primary search, for orientation. The groping for political directions is but one manifestation of the existential search. The political answer to the question, "Whither the Arab World?" which the Arabs are seeking now to formulate, is but a secondary aspect of the spiritual-cultural quest. The political choices may perhaps serve as intimations of the more crucial choices that will some day be made. Arab psychology and the character of the contemporary world being what they are, it may also be that political considerations

will influence, if not entirely determine, the courses followed and the choices made. But the choices will not remain purely political; they will make themselves felt on all dimensions of Arab existence. It is thus that the responsibility of the West for its political behaviour towards the Arab World assumes significance far beyond its immediate political impact. It is also thus that the opportunity for the West to win over to its own side the Arab soul ought to be envisioned by the West as more than a co-efficient of a political struggle, more than an occasion for a temporary gain or loss, more than a rivalry with the Soviet Union for strategic assets.

The search for basic existential orientation has been going on in the Arab soul for over a century. The spiritual stagnation that prevailed over the Arab scene and paralyzed the Arab spirit from the end of the classical Arab Age, and reached its lowest under Ottoman rule, was first shaken by the stirrings which occurred in the nineteenth century and which have come to be known as "the Arab Awakening". Since then, the search for orientation has been going on in earnest, and is still going on, although—owing to the recent political experiences of the Arab peoples—it has assumed the character of a search for political directions and pursuit of national objectives. But observers, whether Arab or non-Arab, who fail to see beyond the immediate political dimension, are denied the vision of the greater drama. Never before in Arab history, since the rise of Islam and the exuberant emergence of Arab-Muslim culture, has the stage been set for so thrilling a drama in Arab existence. The present stage of Arab development, therefore, which is set for momentous decisions of a political and social nature, is in fact set for far more decisive and historic choices of cultural and spiritual decision. The signs may not be obvious at the surface: but no one who looks patiently and lovingly and searchingly beneath the surface can fail to read them aright.

The search of the Arab for basic existential orientation is not restricted to one field of Arab action, one dimension of Arab life. It is a total and therefore multi-dimensional operation—although, for obvious reasons of Arab recent historical experience and Arab psychology, the political manifestation of this search (namely, the pursuit of independence from foreign domination, more effective unity of purpose and action among Arab peoples, and helpful friendships and alliances or else avoidance of international commitments) is the most conspicuous, the most conscious, and the most stirring of all.

On one level, this search is for ideological persuasions, socio-economic doctrines and systems of social, civic and economic reorganization. The Arab seeks new patterns of organization to supplant the moribund, quasi-feudal system and the speedily-disintegrating fam-

ily- and village-structures. He seeks suitable moulds for the slowly-emerging, semi-industrial new Arab economy, and for modernizing the archaic practices of Arab agricultural economy. He seeks adequate formulae for re-adjusting his whole life to the new situation created by the penetration into Arab life of modern technology, which threatens—or promises, as the case may be—to transform the entire pattern of Arab life without allowing the Arab enough leisure for poised transition and balanced evolution. He seeks to adapt his immediate traditions—the legacy of centuries of foreign rule or misrule—to the democratic principles and institutions, of which the Arab is at present adopting merely the forms and shells but which he is called upon to appropriate more creatively and to make his own. He accordingly seeks to revive and promote such elements of his age-old traditions as are harmonious with the democratic pattern of life.

The search of the Arab is also a search for values—cultural, moral and spiritual, personal and social. It is a search for guides, for sources of knowledge, for traditions. It is a search for outlooks and viewpoints, for concepts and judgments, for standards of appreciation and action and creation, for purposes. It is a search for very destiny.

How and of what ought I to think? What may and must I hope for? In what ought I to believe—and in what faith ought I to live—now that the basic concepts of the traditional religions have shrunk into hollowed catchwords, and religious fellowships have degenerated into fossilized groupings, generating blind fanaticism but not edifying communion, stimulating self-seeking attachments but not self-giving loyalties, and serving particular political purposes, disruptive of national unity, instead of promoting inward, loving, joyful, creative, spiritual experience? Whither ought I to turn for guidance? Where am I to find fellowship?

The search of the Arab is also a search for leadership—for genuine, selfless, confident, inspiring leadership. The lack of such leadership is perhaps the most conspicuous aspect of contemporary Arab existence. And the most fatal. The pre-eminence of political leadership as such in Arab life as a whole is but a reflection of the absence of leadership in other walks of Arab life. Furthermore, the lamentable quality of Arab political leadership in itself is, in turn, a sad echo of the poverty of the various political and social institutions whence genuine leadership, even on the politico-social plane alone, should have arisen.

The search for Arab leadership epitomizes the Arab search for ideological convictions, for socio-economic doctrines and systems, for cultural-moral-spiritual values and horizons. And the lack of acknowledged Arab leadership, which in one way prolongs and deepens the lack of existential orientation, in another way testifies to this lack.

It is because basic orientation and a fortiori effective leadership

are lacking, that many of the attributes of contemporary Arab existence have entrenched themselves so menacingly in the Arab soul: the Arab's apparent incapacity for disciplined and abiding unity; his self-centredness, manifesting itself in chaos and disorganization; his fascination with criticism—of the foreigner, of fellow-countrymen, of leaders, of followers, always of "the other", never of oneself—which is the product more of basic dissatisfaction and general discontent than of positive convictions and allegiances and standards, and which accordingly serves to thwart collective and personal accomplishment rather than to stimulate creative efforts and bold enterprises; his reluctance to assume responsibility for his personal or national misfortunes, and his inclination to put the entire blame upon the shoulders of "others"; his impatience, his lack of steady perseverance and unyielding persistence in the pursuit of objectives—which is but an echo of the half-heartedness of his faith in those objectives or in himself; his emotionalism, which is on the whole aimless and formless and conducive to collective outbursts of effervescent enthusiasm rather than continuous, constructive, purposeful common endeavour. It is also in this uncharted, stormy wilderness of the Arab soul—besides the external circumstances to which we alluded earlier—that one may perhaps find partial explanation for the Arab's preoccupation with independence, his idolization of national freedom: the nation is the only community to which, in his present lack of allegiances, he may "belong". Foreign domination is the most convenient pretext on which he can lay the blame for his backwardness, the most fitting target for his resentment. The struggle for national emancipation, with its promised tangible rewards, is the most appealing way of restoring some of his dignity and satisfying some of his yearnings for self-mastery.

The Arab's search for light and love and loyalty, for poise and purpose, for destiny—is a search for being, for effective participation in history. For the first time since the rise of Islam, and after the lapse of centuries in which he drifted on the periphery of history, the Arab now conducts his search for being, for history, for dignity.

No matter what the outcome of this search may be, it is bound to assume historic significance. For the lack is great. But the mere fact of the search is hopeful and promising. And the opportunity is great too. The moment is pregnant with promise and prospects. Hence the picture just presented of the Arab being, in its deficiencies and travail and groping, is not the total picture. There are also elements of hope, crude and ambiguous hope, in the Arab soul, and elements of determination, the contents of which are as yet unclear and the form of which is as yet soft, but the forcefulness of which is nevertheless tremendous.

The supreme facts about the Arab World today are not only the fact of pathetic deficiencies, nor only the fact of political and supra-political search, but also and perhaps primarily the fact of an *unfinished* search, an unresolved question, an undetermined destiny, a tomorrow—measured perhaps in centuries—which *is* today in the awesome sense in which today's indeterminateness makes the shape of tomorrow.

The moment is therefore so loaded with supra-momentary significance, so charged with drama and hope and tension and responsibility, that the mere pondering of its creative majesty is sufficient to fill the heart with awe as well as hope. For is not the possibility of choice possible at all only because of the possibility of error—and of regret, when regret and redemption may perhaps be too late?

The last word about "tomorrow" has not yet been written: but it is being spelt today. The search for basic existential orientation is going on. Hence the anxiety and the dread; hence the hopefulness; hence the mobilization and the struggle; hence the suspense and expectation. Hence, too, the frequent diversions—in the indifference of timid souls, in the attempt at political determination by the less profound or the less patient or the less destiny-minded. Hence the sudden vehemence with which certain traditional and perhaps perennial affinities of the Arab soul are being revived today, the urgency with which they are promoted, in an effort to give them mastery over the Arab mind and heart once and for all. For the crucial question today is partly: Which of these elements and affinities should be revived and fostered, and which should be suppressed and eliminated? There is no little disagreement among the Arabs about the essential nature of their being, about their identity, about that which precisely makes them Arabs at all. Perhaps it is not too dangerous an oversimplification to say that the Arab search is ultimately a search for identity.

There is, in the first place, the tendency to revive the traditions of classical Arabic culture and civilization; to derive from that vast Arab heritage the guiding principles for a resurrected and re-created Arab civilization; to be inspired by them to hope and faith in the Arab future and to a pan-Arabic unity.

There are also counter-currents of provincialism, or nationalism, within the Arab World, going beyond the genesis of Arab civilization to the pre-Arab golden ages in Egypt, in Lebanon, or in (Greater) Syria. Though admitted—to various degrees and in various connotations—to be "Arab" countries, these "nations" are nonetheless envisioned as self-contained entities, antedating and surviving, both in their being and in their cultural self-unfolding, the relatively short-lived period of Arab-Muslim expansion and entrenchment and the

by-no-means total "arabization" of the now-"Arab" countries. From this interpretation of Arab history and this view of the Arab World as multi-national despite its Arabism, the proclamation follows that it is in their diverse, ancient and continuous traditions, submerged perhaps but not eradicated in the process of "arabization," that the principles of the new traditions and revived cultures should respectively be sought.

There are, thirdly, the extremist Muslims, who proclaim Islam as the sole pedestal as well as the summit of any creative Arab endeavour. To them, Islam should be the only source of light and vision, the only standard of Arab action, the only determinant of Arab aspirations, the only basis of Arab civilization. In accordance with their own interpretation of Islam, they differ among themselves. To some, Islam, being in essence a consummation of all earlier divine revelations, should re-assert itself today as a principle of re-integration, reconciliation and transcendence of particular traditions and legacies. To others, Islam by fulfilling earlier religious messages, virtually supplanted them, and rendered unnecessary, and in fact backward, any openness towards any other source of truth and virtue. Some view Islam as a source of norms for action and regulations for behaviour: their call is for a thorough Islamization of the structure of society, its legislation and mores and systems of socio-economic organization. This, in fact, is a call for the return to the original purity of Islam and its thoroughgoing totality of application. But others view the return to the original purity of Islam in terms of more vigorous and more militant solidarity and more exclusive social grouping.

Of these various groups, one merges imperceptibly with the other: the lines of demarcation are far from clear-cut. Nor are their appeals usually unalloyed with extraneous considerations of political expediency or particularist interests.

Furthermore, the "return to Islam" cuts across boundaries and frontiers: not only are the various "nationalisms" within the Arab World denied validity or grounded existence, but the "Arab World" itself is transcended. The vision is often of a solid, pan-Muslim World, of which the Arab countries are but a fragment.

Just as provincial and particularist-national loyalties grow more intense, the more widespread the appeal of pan-Arabism becomes and the more militant its nature, so, too, the group-loyalties of non-Muslim minorities are sharpened with every new emphasis on the Islamization of Arab life.

We thus have, on two related but not identical levels, two analogous yet distinct patterns of the eternal struggle between the universal and the particular, the centripetal and the centrifugal, in Arab life. Arab fortunes will depend to a large extent upon the out-

come of this struggle. For, on the one hand, the intricate and essential manner in which each Arab country *is* "Arab" and yet is *itself*, and, on the other hand, the integral relationship between Islam and Arabism, give the struggle a unique form, and link it inextricably with the Arab's search for identity, which, as we suggested earlier, is an important manifestation of his search for being and destiny.

This becomes all the more apparent as we reflect that the struggle, whether on the national-ethnic or on the religious-cultural level, is but a continuation, or at least a resumption, of the initial Muslim-Arab invasions of the seventh century—with the difference that now the struggle is within the already-arabized countries, the now-Arab World, instead of being an assault from without, as it was then. For the advent of the Muslim-Arabs did not uproot the established peoples of the Fertile Crescent and North Africa. Islam did not wholly eliminate Christianity and the other religions of the area. Arabic culture, which was then in a potential state, not only did not supplant the entrenched cultures of the area, but had to come to its own only through interaction with, and assimilation of, those cultures. Only the Arabic language succeeded in positing itself as the universal medium of communication in the Arab World—but it, too, has had to undergo essential diversification in the various Arab communities, as far as the media of daily communication are concerned, and has managed to preserve its original purity and its identity, as the medium of written communication, only because of the unique position of the Qur'ān in Islam and the unique relation of Arabic to the Qur'ān, and at the expense of its flexibility and adequacy.

In that ancient, history-laden land, then, an epoch-making historical process, which started thirteen centuries ago, is being resumed —though not "repeated"—today. The struggle of Arabism with Syrian or Egyptian nationalism, for example, or with Lebanese provincialism, and the struggle of Islam with Christianity, are thus two modes in which that earlier struggle is being resumed under different circumstances: the difference being, of course, that, unlike yesterday, Arabism today is an integral, supra-national aspect of the national character of each of the Arab nations, and that Islam is not only an essential component of Arabism but also the religion of the overwhelming majority of the Arabs.

It will be rash, however, to conclude that the thorough Islamization and arabization of the Arab World is the natural and ideal solution of the problem, or that the dialectic can and must point to one direction only, namely, the consummation of the unfinished process of Islamo-arabization. One derives little comfort from pondering such a future state of affairs. This solution, of course, suggests itself readily as an easy way out of a complex problem and precarious situation.

But, as in many similar instances, the easiest way out is by no means the most adequate. Perhaps there is a providential purpose in keeping the two great monotheisms in a state of eternal confrontation. Perhaps the continued presence, in the midst of Islam, of flourishing Christian communities is providentially designed to serve as a constant reminder to Islam of its own spiritual context and source, a constant reminder to the Christian Arabs of the Cross and the Law of Love. Certainly, the maintenance of diverse national traditions and loyalties within the vast Arab world—always, one hopes, tamed by the higher, common interests, and always growing on common grounds—will continue to provide Arab life with plenitude and enriching diversity.

These forces, contending for mastery over the Arab soul, are tangible forces, represented by concrete groups and socio-political formations. For what we witness today is not an academic debate, but an existential, historical and history-making struggle. The Arab World of tomorrow will have to witness either an indecisive continuation of this struggle and prolongation of the present chaos and lostness, or else the surrender of some or all of these forces and the victory of one—unless the bitter truth of essential pluralism is to be hopefully and humbly accepted, and the strife creatively transcended. If the self-asserting nationalisms of the Arab World seek to regulate their self-assertion by the over-riding, common, generic and genuine interests of the Arab family of nations, and if Arabism adjusts itself to the spectacle of national plurality within its ranks; if the Christian-Arab communities re-capture the positive essence of Christianity, its joyfulness and confidence and humility and suffering, and manifest their Christianity as a living faith of love and testimony and martydom and forgiveness, rather than emphasizing the hopelessly-negative and essentially-unChristian defensive, "minority," attitude which at present characterizes their domestic position—a sad mixture of feelings of superiority and fear—and if Muslims undertake a daring, novel, humble revision of some of the basic premises of conventional Islam, purging their traditions of much that is obsolete, accidental, temporary, re-appropriating the revolutionary spirit of their Prophet and recapturing the receptivity and open-mindedness and positive soul-searching which characterized the most daring and creative of Muslims throughout history—then the exclusiveness of some and the incompatibility of all of the contending forces of today's Arab World will make the eternally self-confronting, eternally pluralistic, yet harmonious, "Arab World of tomorrow," possible.

FAYEZ SAYEGH

New York

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SHARĪ'A LAW IX

THE WAQF SYSTEM

No part of the Sharī'a as applied in the countries of the Middle East in recent years occasioned such bitter and persistent criticism as the *waqf* system. This was largely due to a number of inherent weaknesses in the system itself when governed by the "authoritative Ḥanafī opinion," weaknesses only too apparent to the beneficiaries, the courts and even the thinking public as a whole. The system was continually used to evade the restrictions of the Islamic law of inheritance and favour some heirs, or disinherit others, or impose the most arbitrary and unreasonable conditions as the price of their continued entitlement. There were perpetual complaints from multitudinous beneficiaries that *waqf* administrators proved dishonest, high-handed, and negligent, but could never satisfactorily be brought to account. And there was also the palpable fact that a considerable part of the material and even human resources of the country lay idle under a dead hand, with houses derelict for lack of repair, estates impoverished for lack of development and beneficiaries indolent for lack of incentive to work. The attack on the system was re-inforced by social and economic theories from the West, inspired by the French Revolution and the emergence of the new liberalism elsewhere. Under such influences the Turkish reformers demanded the complete abolition of the *awqāf* on the grounds that their wide diffusion crippled the public economy in favour of family perpetuities of the most pernicious kind. And it was under the same influences that Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt issued his famous Irāda Sanīya in 1854 forbidding the creation of any further waqfs.[1]

This Irāda, however, seems to have been limited to agricultural land,[2] to have been frequently evaded, and soon to have become a dead-letter. But in 1926 a law was passed in Turkey, some months before the abandonment of the Sharī'a in general, providing for the liquidation of the *awqāf*. In the same year the Committee of Waqf in the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies, in presenting its report on the budget of the Ministry of Awqāf, made some pungent criticisms of the system and remarked: "These and other considerations make it incumbent on Parliament and those who watch over the country's economic and social affairs to consider whether the system ought, or

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[1] Before taking this step he had obtained a *fatwā* from Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Jazāyirlī, the Ḥanafī *muftī* of Alexandria, that it was allowable for the Ruler, as a matter of state policy *(siyāsa shar'īya)* to forbid the creation of any further *awqāf*, in order to prevent abuses. See "Qānūn al-Waqf" (below) p. 9.

[2] *Ushrī* land: although the Irāda was not in fact limited thereto. Op. cit. pp. 9 and 10.

ought not, to continue." From that date the controversy was bitterly waged in Egypt, with 'Allūba Pasha in the forefront of the attack on the *waqf* system and Shaikh Bakhīt and other *'ulamā'* rallying to its defence. But soon there emerged what may be termed a middle-party, pledged neither to the abolition of the system nor its preservation in its existing form, but rather to its drastic reform. Efforts to this end began in the Ministry of Justice in 1932: but in 1936 the Committee of Waqf in the Chamber recommended, by a majority vote, the introduction of legislation to forbid family *waqfs* altogether and to limit the scope of public *waqfs,* while in 1937 it expressed the view that any attempt to reform the system was useless—it must go. Meanwhile, however, the Committee of Personal Status had been set up, in December 1936, to draw up draft legislation covering all matters of personal status, *waqfs,* wills and inheritance on the basis of the two books of Qadrī Pasha but with freedom to select, from the views of any reputable Muslim jurist, those principles best suited to the public interests in the circumstances of modern life.[3]

It was originally hoped that this Committee would immediately concern itself with recommendations for the reform of the *waqf* system. In the event, however, it felt that this should not be the subject of its initial experiment in comprehensive legislation, so it turned its attention to the easier subject of inheritance first. It then decided that the Law of Testamentary Dispositions *(waṣīya)* must come next, since so many of the rules of *waqf* were derived therefrom and its codification would pave the way for a number of proposed reforms. But such was the spate of complaints and proposals regarding the *waqf* system which poured in upon its members that when the principles of the new Law of Testamentary Dispositions had been agreed the Committee turned its attention to that of *waqf* before the former was drafted; while it also abandoned its original intention of compiling a comprehensive piece of legislation covering the whole law of *waqf* in favour of a Law designed to treat only those points which seemed most urgent. The initial draft of this Law was completed by March 1942: but a number of amendments were introduced (and sometimes again deleted) by the various Parliamentary Committees through which it had to pass and by the two Chambers themselves (a fact which partially explains a number of defects in its draftmanship). So it was not until 1946 that it became law.

It was, of course, a foregone conclusion that the Committee of Personal Status would stand firmly against the abolition of the *waqf* system—as its more extreme critics continually urged—and would

[3] See Article VII in this series, the Muslim World, April, 1952, p. 124.

instead attempt its drastic reform. It was only in Syria (apart from Turkey) that the decisive step was taken, in 1949, of prohibiting the creation of family *waqfs,* or those partially devoted to private interests, and providing for the liquidation of existing *waqfs* of this sort.[4] In Lebanon, on the other hand, the Law of Family Waqfs, 1947, largely followed the Egyptian Law, in so far as private *waqfs* were concerned, in its measures of reform. But it is noteworthy that although the Egyptian Law includes some of the most daring innovations, it met much less opposition from the orthodox than had the marriage reforms of 1923 and 1929 or the Law of Testamentary Dispositions of 1946. This is due firstly to the fact that here reform seemed the only alternative to abolition, secondly to the circumstance that with such diversity of view among Muslim jurists no breach with established consensus could well be claimed,[5] and thirdly that the Law made no pretensions to be a comprehensive codification but only an *ad hoc* treatment of particular points.[6]

The Law comprises sixty-two articles divided into eleven sections, and was accompanied by a reasonably full Explanatory Memorandum. This defines the attitude of the Committee in the following words: "It became its firm conviction that it would be unsound to abolish a system, the virtues of which could no more be ignored than the difficulties which would attend its abolition could be denied, just because certain defects had appeared in some of its aspects as a result of the weakening of the religious and ethical impulse and the triumph of unworthy desires. On the contrary, the public interest demanded the preservation of existing family *waqfs* and an attempt to frame legislation, derived from the different schools of Islamic law, which would ensure the reform of the *waqf* system and its purification from defects and vitiating elements, make it conformable to the purposes of the beneficent Sharī'a and adapt it to the end for which it was designed." Besides shorter and more fragmentary commentaries, this Law has been favoured with a full exposition,[7] in two volumes, by its chief architect, Muḥammad Faraj al-Sanhūrī, as the third part (but the first to be published) of what he designs to be a comprehensive series of commentaries on all this recent Egyptian legislation,

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[4] Law No. 76 of 1949.

[5] Although Aḥmad Ibrahīm made some pungent criticisms of what he considered extreme and unnecessary instances of *talfīq*: see below.

[6] The opposition to comprehensive codification is commonly put forward as a matter of principle, since codification of the Sharī'a has always been opposed as inappropriate to its very nature: but the basic objection on the part of many of its critics is the fear that once this section or that has been codified in a piece of modern legislation it could without much difficulty be handed over to the competence of the civil courts.

[7] "Qānūn al-Waqf," 1949.

under the title "The Body of Egyptian Laws Selected from the Islamic Fiqh."[8] It must, however, again be emphasized that the "Law of Rules Relevant to Waqf," 1946, makes no pretensions to being comprehensive, so in all points not covered thereby the most authoritative Ḥanafī opinion must still be sought and applied by the Sharī'a courts under article 280 of their Regulations of 1931. It might have been wiser to have stated this principle clearly in the Law itself, so as to bind any other courts which have occasion to deal with matters concerning *awqāf*.

The first section is entitled "The creation of a *waqf* and its conditions" and includes a number of points of outstanding interest. Thus Article 1 enacts that "From the date when this Law comes into force, the creation of a waqf, its revocation, any alteration in the application of its income or in its conditions, or any exchange of its property by the founder, are alike invalid unless a declaration *(ishhād)*[9] to that effect be made by the competent person before one of the Sharī'a courts in the Kingdom of Egypt in the form specified in articles 2 and 3 and be recorded in the register of the court." The next three Articles not only effect some useful reforms regarding the courts, and the officials competent to act in such cases, but also provide that no *ishhād* contrary to the terms of this Law is to be accepted, while points of doubt or complexity are to be examined and decided by the competent court acting in its administrative rather than judicial capacity. Precisely the same general attitude is taken by the Lebanese Law,[10] which not only forbids the courts to accept an *ishhād* contrary to its provisions but declares any *waqf* inconsistent therewith to be null and void.

At first sight, such provisions may not seem widely different from Article 30 of the Egyptian Code of Procedure for Sharī'a Courts, 1897, which forbade these courts to entertain any plea regarding the creation of a *waqf* except on the basis of a suitable *ishhād*—a provision which reappears, in a rather different form, in the Codes of 1910 and 1931. But whereas the earlier reforms employed the indirect method of withholding judicial relief where the *ishhād* was lacking, the new Law adopts the far more drastic expedient of declaring any such transaction to be invalid *per se*. Here, however, the Explanatory Memorandum observes:

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[8] "Majmū'at al-Qawānīn al-Misrīya'l-Mukhtāra min al-Fiqh al-Islāmī."

[9] The term *"ishhād"* originally, of course, implies a request that something be witnessed, but is now used as a technical term for a declaration or contract made before the competent authorities, or even for the document in which this is recorded, quite regardless of whether witnesses are, or are not, present.

[10] Art. 6.

"The effect of this Article is not, as is alleged, to introduce a new condition for the creation of *waqfs* unknown to any of the jurists of the past. The fact is that the proposed Law does not apply to all circumstances the rule of law laid down by any one school: on the contrary, a distinction is made between different circumstances, and to each is applied the rule of law advocated by some recognized authority. A *waqf* which lacks such *ishhād*, for instance, is regarded as invalid on the basis of the opinion of those early jurists who hold a *waqf* always invalid,[11] while where the *ishhād* has been properly effected it is regarded as valid on the basis of the opinion of the generality of jurists. Again, an alteration in the application of its income or in its conditions is regarded as invalid if not effected by means of such *ishhād*, on the basis of the alternative Ḥanbalī opinion to the effect that the founder may not make such a change even if he stipulated the right to do so . . ., while if the suitable *ishhād* has been effected the alteration will be held valid, on the basis of the law now applicable and similar provisions in other schools. Finally, the exchange of *waqf* property by the founder where he has stipulated this right is regarded as invalid if effected without an *ishhād*, on the basis of the opinions of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan and Yūsuf ibn Khālid al-Samtī among Ḥanafī jurists . . ."

This quotation provides an unequivocal exposition of the way this Law has used what may be termed the milder form of *talfīq*, since two different views are here applied to two different sets of circumstances. Yet it might also be regarded as much more drastic, since the two opinions often rest on totally opposite, even contradictory, premises.

Article 5 introduces one of the major innovations of this Law by decreeing that family *waqfs* must, and most public *waqfs* may, henceforth be temporary rather than perpetual in character. This reads:

"A *waqf* of a mosque must be perpetual; a *waqf* in favour of some other charity may be either temporary or perpetual, but if expressed in general terms shall be perpetual; while a *waqf* for any other purpose must be temporary and shall not extend to more than two series of beneficiaries. Beneficiaries shall be considered one series if the founder specifies them by name at the creation of the *waqf*, whether he provides that they shall enjoy the income successively or concurrently; while where he does not specify them by name each generation shall be considered a series; but the founder himself shall never count as such. If, on the other hand, a *waqf* for other than charitable purposes is made temporary by a specified time limit this must not exceed sixty years from the death of the founder. The founder of a *waqf* prior to this Law, moreover, may make this temporary in accordance with the foregoing provisions where he has the right of revocation."

The Lebanese Law also insists, in Articles 8-10, on family *waqfs* being limited to two series, similarly defined, but does not provide for them to be limited by a period of years.

This reform represents an almost revolutionary change in the

[11] This view is sometimes attributed to Ibn Mas'ūd, 'Alī and Ibn 'Abbās, to Shurayḥ and to Abū Ḥanīfa himself.

waqf system. It was, however, much facilitated by the fact that Abū Yūsuf himself, according to one report, had held that a *waqf* might validly be made for the benefit of some particular individual, after whose death the property would revert to the heirs of the founder; and Mālikī authority may also be quoted for such a proposition. So these provisions may be represented as making something which was always lawful henceforth optional, in the case of public *waqfs,* and incumbent, in regard to private ones, as a matter of public policy: while the invalidity of any family *waqf* which exceeds the prescribed limits may, of course, be supported by reference to those jurists who held the *waqf* system to be invalid *in toto.*[12] Only a *waqf* of a mosque or cemetery must necessarily be perpetual; for on this point almost all jurists are agreed. But it is noteworthy in this context that the Explanatory Memorandum attacks family perpetuities not only on economic and social grounds but as a form of interdiction on series of unborn persons, of whose characters and abilities the founder could have had no knowledge.

Article 6, together with Article 12 of the Lebanese Law, decrees that "If a *waqf* is coupled with an invalid condition[13] the *waqf* shall be valid and the condition void" and must not detain us here. But the equally brief Article 7 ("The *waqf* of a non-Muslim shall be valid provided it is not for a purpose forbidden both under his own law and that of Islam") represents such an admirable instance of what most commentators consider "beneficial" *talfīq* that we must pause to observe that the Ḥanafī doctrine insists that such *waqfs* must represent an approach to God *(qurba)*[14] both in the religion of the founder and that of Islam; that the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs have regard to the religion of Islam alone in such cases; and that the Mālikīs are divided, but their best-known view has regard only to the religion of the founder. So this Article may be said to represent the Shāfi'ī view where the purpose of the *waqf* is contrary to the religion of the founder but approved by Islam (e.g. something to do with a mosque); the dominant Mālikī view where the purpose is contrary to Islam but approved by the religion of the founder (e.g. something to do with a church); and the views of all four schools where the purpose is approved by both religions (e.g. a hospital).

Article 8 is even more of an innovation, for it provides that "Both real and personal property may be made *waqf*. An undivided share

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[12] See above, footnote 11.

[13] Where such a condition is not contrary to the nature of a *waqf* this is ordinary Ḥanafī doctrine, while where it is so contrary it represents a variant Ḥanafī opinion.

[14] See "The Religious Element in Waqf Endowments," Royal Central Asian Journal, Vol. XXXVIII, Part IV, October 1951, p. 292.

of immovable property not susceptible to division may not be made a *waqf*, however, unless the remainder of the property also constitutes a *waqf* in favour of the same interest, or the share is devoted to the benefit of some existing *waqf*. But stocks and shares in companies which employ their capital in lawful ways may be made *waqf*." Here the Ḥanafī law previously applicable only allows a *waqf* of movables as appendages to immovables or as sanctioned by ancient custom, but the Mālikī doctrine which makes no such restriction was plainly more suited to modern life. The view of Abū Yūsuf previously dominant allows the *waqf* of an undivided share in indivisible property almost without restriction, but the Mālikī view, far stricter in this particular, seemed preferable, in view of the disputes and complications to which the contrary policy inevitably gives rise. The enunciation of this principle demanded an express reference to the validity of a *waqf* of stocks and shares, provided the companies concerned do not transgress the Islamic prohibition of usury.[15] To these provisions, again, parallels may be found in Articles 15 and 16 of the Lebanese Law.

The last two Articles in this section need not detain us. Article 9 decrees that "Acceptance is essential neither to the validity of a *waqf* nor to entitlement to benefit thereunder, except where the beneficiary is an institution which has a legal representative, when his acceptance is necessary. . . ." This represents the existing law, whereby no acceptance is required from a beneficiary (although his entitlement would pass to the next entitled person on refusal),[16] except for the proviso about institutions which have a legal representative. Experience had shown that people sometimes make *waqfs* of an embarrassing nature, in favour, e.g. of the Azhar University, from social, religious or political motives: so here a Ḥanbalī doctrine has been incorporated. Article 10 merely reiterates the existing law, but aims to exclude the fine distinctions introduced by later jurists, when it prescribes that "The words of a founder are to be interpreted as meaning what he appears to have intended, even if this does not accord with the proper rules of language."[17]

The next section is entitled "Revocation of *waqf*" and serves further to relax the rigidity of the *waqf* system. Its single Article, 11,[18] provides that

> "a founder may revoke his *waqf*, in whole or in part, and may also alter the application of its income or its conditions, even if he purported to deprive

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[15] This is what the phrase is meant to imply. In practice, however, it seems probable that the prohibition of usury is largely ignored.

[16] The right of an individual beneficiary to refuse his entitlement is not mentioned here, but in Article 34.

[17] There is no parallel to these Articles in the Lebanese Law.

[18] c.p., in briefer form, Art. 7 of the Lebanese Law.

himself of this right, provided that such alteration shall be effective only within the terms of this Law. He may not, however, revoke or alter a *waqf* created prior to this Law in favour of others than himself if he deprived himself and his descendants of entitlement therein and from exercising the "Ten Conditions"[19] in respect thereto, or if it be shown that entitlement thereunder was granted for a financial consideration or as a guarantee of rights already due from the founder. Nor may he revoke a *waqf* originally made as a mosque or in favour of a mosque: while no revocation shall be valid unless made in express terms."

Here the right of a founder to revoke any *waqf* created subsequently to this Law, even where he had purported to deprive himself of this possibility, can find support in the view commonly attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa himself, revolutionary although its introduction was in practice. So it was with regard to the revocation—or the making temporary—of *waqfs* validly created prior to this Law that some of the most vehement controversy raged. One party argued that unless existing *waqfs* were included these reforms would prove of very partial benefit; while the opposite faction inveighed against the iniquity of retro-active legislation which deprived people of rights which had already accrued and had begun to influence the order of their lives. Eventually, it was decided that existing *waqfs* might only be made temporary where the founder was still alive and had the right of revocation, and that he should be granted the right to revoke *waqfs* created prior to this Law—in which, for the most part, no rights in favour of others would have actually accrued during his lifetime—unless they had been made for valuable consideration or unless they represented mosques or were in favour of mosques.[20] In all cases, such revocation must be explicit, not implicit.[21]

The "Ten Conditions" to which reference has already been made form the title of the next section of this Law. The expression represents a technicality introduced by later Ḥanafīs to cover a series of stipulations which, in aggregate, allow the founder or anyone else in whose favour they are stipulated to make almost any change in the application of the *waqf* income and even to substitute other (equivalent) land or houses for the original property. Article 12 provides, however, that "The founder may stipulate the "Ten Conditions" or such of these as he wishes, together with the right to their repeated exercise, in favour of himself but not of anyone else, provided that they shall be effective only within the terms of this Law";

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[19] See below.

[20] The *waqf* of a mosque must, of course, be perpetual, but not a *waqf* in favour of a mosque—although this, too, may not be revoked under this Article. This represents another case of *talfīq*, in the interests of public policy.

[21] i.e. a sale of the *waqf* property would be invalid unless preceded by express revocation of the *waqf*, prior to which all the effects of a valid *waqf* would persist.

while Article 13 adds "Except in so far as the founder shall have reserved this right to himself, any substitution of *waqf* property shall be in the competence of the (appropriate) Sharī'a court, whenever it deems this beneficial." Here the innovations in existing practice are firstly the fact that the founder may no longer stipulate these conditions in favour of anyone other than himself, which represents a partial adoption of the view of those jurists who deny that such changes in the application of the *waqf* revenue may validly be made at all, and secondly that the courts may now decree the substitution of other property for that of which the *waqf* originally consisted whenever this seems advisable, without regard for the detailed refinements on which later Ḥanafīs have tended to insist.[22]

The next section, appropriately enough, is devoted to *amwāl al-badal,* i.e. the money for which *waqf* property has been sold, but for which no corresponding property has yet been bought, in the process of this right of "substitution." The previous law and practice in this matter was a cause of continual complaints, for such money frequently lay idle for years. The aggregate of such funds reached a total of £E670,938 in 1942, made up of over a thousand sums of less than £E10 and over a thousand of between £E10 and £E50, besides certain larger items. So Articles 14 and 15 provide that

> "The court may purchase from the *amwāl al-badal* in its treasury, at the request of the interested parties, any real or personal property to take the place of the original *waqf,* or may give permission for it to be spent in constructing some new source of income.[23] It may also—until this is feasible—give permission for these monies to be put to any lawful means of profit. Alternatively, it may give permission for them to be spent on the upkeep of the *waqf* property without the need for this to be repaid from income: while if such sums are small, cannot easily be put to profit and are not needed for upkeep, they may be regarded as income and paid out accordingly." Article 15 adds: "If the interested persons do not demand the application of the preceding Article to the *amwāl al-badal* lying in the treasuries of Sharī'a courts within one year from the date when this Law comes into force, the Maḥkamat al-Taṣarrufāt in Cairo, on the demand of the Minister of Justice, shall expend them in purchasing sources of income in the form of real or personal property, or shall permit the construction of such therefrom. . . . All property so constructed or bought shall be held jointly by the *waqfs* entitled to such monies in proportion to the share of each therein: but the court shall exclude the administrators of the *waqfs* to which these sources of income are attached from any right to administer the latter and shall appoint a single administrator to manage them."

The economic value of this reform is obvious: while juristically the right to use such monies in the purchase of movable rather than

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[22] Here the Lebanese Law, by contrast, allows the Ten Conditions to be reserved by the founder for himself *or* stipulated in favor of another (Art. 14).

[23] *Mustaghall.*

immovable property follows naturally from Article 8 above;[24] their use in the construction of some source of income represents the Ḥanafī doctrine previously applicable. Their expenditure on the upkeep of the *waqf* without repayment from income is alleged by the Explanatory Memorandum to be a natural deduction from the Ḥanbalī doctrine; while the termination of the *waqf* in so far as such monies are concerned is supported by reference to the views of certain Mālikī jurists.[25]

The next section, "The termination of a *waqf*", was the cause of much controversy. Article 16 provides that "A temporary *waqf* shall come to an end when the prescribed period expires or the beneficiaries become extinct. It shall also end, in so far as each share therein is concerned, with the extinction of those entitled thereto before the end of the prescribed period or the extinction of the series of beneficiaries with which the *waqf* as a whole will end—provided that the *waqf* deed does not specify that such share shall go to all, or some, of the remaining beneficiaries, in which case the *waqf* shall not end until these too become extinct or the period ends." Most of this seems obvious enough, if temporary *waqfs* are to be allowed at all: and the only point of interest is the possibility that a *waqf* may end in part before it ends altogether, which will be discussed under the provisions regarding the "divison" of *waqfs* below. Article 17, however, is much more controversial, for it declares that "If a *waqf* comes to an end in regard to all or part of that to which beneficiaries with an "obligatory entitlement"[26] under article 24 are entitled, the property no longer subject to the *waqf* shall belong to the founder if alive, while if he is dead it shall belong to the beneficiaries, or to the descendants of the first or second series of these, according to circumstances; and if there is none such it shall go to the heirs of the founder or, in default of such, to the Public Treasury. If, however, a *waqf* comes to an end in regard to all, or part, of that to which other persons are entitled, the property no longer subject to the *waqf* shall belong to the founder if alive or to his heirs at the time of his death; and if there were none such, or they have died without heirs, it shall belong to the Public Treasury." These heterogenous provisions are justified by their advocates on social and moral grounds, on the basis that *waqf* property is regarded as remaining in the ownership of the founder in the view of Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālikī jurists, and so would naturally return to him or to his heirs as soon as the *waqf* ends; and on the basis that it is

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[24] While the right to buy property of a nature different from that of the original *waqf* may be supported from Ḥanbalī authorities.

[25] There was, obviously, no call for any such provisions in the Lebanese Law.

[26] See below.

regarded as owned by the beneficiaries in the better Ḥanbalī opinion, so the provision that it shall belong to them or to their heirs, where they are those with obligatory entitlements and the founder is dead, is similarly justified. Others, however, argue that this is an example of the worst form of *talfīq*, since it adopts two different rules based on utterly contradictory premises according as the founder is himself alive or dead on the one hand and the beneficiaries happen to be of this or that category on the other, while the Ḥanbalīs, by reference to whom the ownership of the beneficiaries is justified,[27] never accepted the concept of a temporary *waqf* at all. Here the Lebanese Law is more homogeneous, since Article 10 provides that property previously subject to a temporary *waqf* shall in all cases return to the founder, or his heirs, when it ends.[28]

Article 18 treats a somewhat different problem, for it provides that "If *waqf* property becomes derelict, in whole or in part, and can neither be repaired nor exchanged in a way which will guarantee the beneficiaries a not insignificant share in the income without injuring them by long deprivation thereof, the *waqf* shall end in this regard; and it shall similarly be brought to an end, by decree of court on the demand of the interested parties, in so far as concerns the entitlement of any beneficiary whose share becomes insignificant. The property no longer subject to the *waqf* shall belong to the founder if alive and, if not, to the beneficiaries at the time when the court makes the relevant decree." Here, again, the social and economic benefit of the reform is obvious: while juristic authority for the sale of *waqf* property which is ruined may be found in certain Ḥanafī texts[29] (the price is to be paid to the founder or his heirs or expended in almsgiving) and for the sale of property where the shares of beneficiaries have become insignificant in the dominant Ithnā 'Asharī and a variant Mālikī view. So again the detailed provisions of this Law represent a complex instance of *talfīq*, whereby the price is to belong in both circumstances to the founder if still alive and to the beneficiaries, whoever they be, if he is dead. Here Articles 32-35 of the Lebanese Law substantially follow the Egyptian provisions in all particulars.

The next section of the Law bears the heading "Entitlement under a *waqf*" and comprises Articles 19-39. Space, however, will only permit comment on points of outstanding interest. Thus Article

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[27] But the Ithnā 'Asharī doctrine might also have been cited in support of this view.

[28] The motive of the variant provision in the Egyptian Law is, obviously, to favour the "inner family" to which those with obligatory entitlements are limited.

[29] Usually attributed to Muḥammad al-Shaybānī.

22 provides that "Except as provided under the second part of Article 27, conditions imposed by the founder of a *waqf* on its beneficiaries shall be void if they restrict their freedom in regard to marriage, place of residence, or the raising of credit—unless the latter is not for their real advantage. Similarly, any condition the non-observance of which would occasion no loss of benefit to founder, *waqf* or beneficiaries shall be void." Here the Explanatory Memorandum and all commentaries expatiate on the unreasonable, injurious and even vicious conditions which were frequently stipulated by founders of *waqfs* and formerly enforced by the courts, and on the public and private benefit of this reform. Its juristic basis must be sought primarily in the views of the Ḥanbalī reformers Ibn Taymīya and Ibn al-Qayyim regarding the invalidity of any conditions contrary to the general purposes of the Law-giver (e.g. restraint of marriage)—and here again the Lebanese Law follows suit in Article 13.

But perhaps the most interesting reform of any introduced by either of these two Laws is that regarding "obligatory entitlements" as covered by Articles 23-30 of the Egyptian Law and Articles 36-39 of the Lebanese legislation.[30] Thus Article 23 provides that "an owner of property may make a *waqf* of not more than one-third of his estate in favour of whomsoever he wishes, be they his heirs or not, or of some charity. The criterion regarding such third-part of his property shall be the amount of his estate at death, including any *waqfs* which he had created, whether before or after this Law came into force, except those over which he has no right of revocation.[31] Subject to the provisions of Article 24, moreover, he may make a *waqf* of his whole property in favour of such of his descendants, parents or spouses[32] as are alive at the time of his death: while if none of those specified in Article 24 are alive at his death he may make a waqf of all his property in favour of whomsoever he pleases.[33] Article 24 then provides that "subject to the terms of Article 29, such descendants, parents, spouse or spouses of the founder as are his heirs and are alive at his death[34] must be given an entitlement in any *waqf* which exceeds one-third of his property equivalent to their rights of inheritance, and the entitlement of each must pass to his

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[30] They are almost identical in general concept.

[31] Where there are several *waqfs*, the question which of these fall, in whole or in part, within this "free" third is decided, it seems, by their chronological order.

[32] This includes a wife observing the *'idda* of revocable divorce but not one finally divorced, even where, should that divorce have been pronounced during her husband's "death-sickness," her rights of inheritance still subsist.

[33] c.p. Arts. 36 and 37 of the Lebanese Law.

[34] Clearly, then, a founder may make what provision he pleases regarding the income of his *waqf* during his life-time.

descendants after him in accordance with the terms of this Law.[35] Such entitlement shall not, however, be due to any to whom the founder has given, by means of some other gratuitous disposition, the equivalent of their entitlement; while where he has given them less than this they have a right to an entitlement equal to the difference only." Again, Article 25 provides that none of these may be deprived, whether directly or by means of some condition to that effect, of all or part of this obligatory entitlement except as provided in the following Articles, but that where any are so deprived they shall be regarded, in so far and for so long as their deprivation may last,[36] as having died during the life-time of the founder. Article 26 says that anyone who causes the death of the founder in any way which would debar him from inheriting his property is deprived thereby of any entitlement in his *waqfs;*[37] and Article 27 that the founder may deprive those with obligatory entitlement of all or part of such entitlement, or include a condition in his *waqf* to this effect, where he has good reason to do so,[38] while a wife may always deprive her husband, whether directly or by means of a suitable condition, of any entitlement in her *waqf,* if he marries a co-wife while their marriage subsists or if he divorces her.[39] Similarly Articles 28 and 29 permit, but do not oblige, the founder of a *waqf* to provide that the entitlement of a spouse or parent therein shall be for life only and shall go to his own descendants rather than theirs after their death, and also to grant to the offspring of any of his children who has died[40] during his life-time an entitlement in his *waqf* equal to the obligatory entitlement which would have been due to the deceased child under Article 24 had he been alive at the founder's death, or equal to what would complete this amount, even though

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[35] This is a loose expression, and it is difficult to know how far it should be pressed. Does it, for instance, include one who kills his parent or differs from him in religion? And will such entitlement be divided between the descendants according to the rules of inheritance or—as seems to be the case—according to the conditions laid down in the *waqf* deed?

[36] i.e. if deprived by means of a condition which may cease to apply and allow their entitlement to revive.

[37] This Article applies both to those with a voluntary entitlement and to the second generation of those with an obligatory entitlement.

[38] In the judgment of the Maḥkamat al-Taṣarrufāt, after due investigation. See below.

[39] For Arts. 24-27 above c.p. Art. 38 of the Lebanese Law.

[40] Or been validly deprived of his entitlement by the founder, since such are to be regarded as having died. Where, however, one with an obligatory entitlement refuses this, or becomes deprived thereof after the founder's death by reason of some condition which the latter imposed, this rule will mean that his entitlement will pass at once to his descendants (See Art. 34 in both cases).

this entitlement may exceed one-third of the whole estate.[41] Finally, Article 30 provides that where a founder deprives any of those with obligatory entitlement of all or part of such entitlement each of the others must be given their obligatory entitlement and then the rest must be distributed among all beneficiaries, other than the one so deprived, in proportion to what was allotted to them in the case of those with voluntary entitlement, and to the excess allotted to them over and above their obligatory entitlement in the case of those so entitled. It is also provided that no change whatsoever shall be made in any entitlement if the one deprived fails, without valid excuse, to bring an action to claim his right within two solar years of the founder's death, or if he has consented to the *waqf* in writing after the latter's death (in which case such consent shall be effective to the extent specified therein only).

The purpose of these provisions is to bring the law of *waqf* much more into line with that of testate and intestate succession and so to prevent the former being used to evade the latter. Thus a man's complete freedom in regard to the beneficiaries in a *waqf* not exceeding one-third of his estate on death, be they heirs or non-heirs, corresponds to Article 37 of the Law of Testamentary Dispositions;[42] the limitation of a family, but not a charitable, *waqf* to two series of beneficiaries runs parallel to the restriction of usufructuary bequests in favour of legatees of a definite number to a maximum of two series of such legatees, while usufructuary bequests to legatees whose extinction is inconceivable may be in perpetuity;[43] the rights of those heirs who are members of the founder's immediate family to the equivalent to their rights of inheritance in regard to two-thirds of his property are largely secured; and there is a provision partially corresponding to that of obligatory bequests.[44] A number of important differences however, remain: for (a) among a founder's heirs only his descendants, parents and spouse are so protected, not, e.g., his grandparents or collaterals; (b) even these may be deprived of their entitlement for adequate cause, e.g. his son should he marry a foreigner, his daughter should she marry a servant of the house, his children should they disobey him in any matter of importance, or even, perhaps, any such heir who is already affluent should others be

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[41] For Art. 29, but not Art. 28, see Art. 39 of the Lebanese Law. This provision may, of course, have the effect of diminishing the obligatory entitlement of those so entitled.

[42] See Article VI in this series, the Muslim World, Jan. 1952, pp. 35 & 36.

[43] See the Law of Testamentary Dispositions, Arts. 29 and 52, and my Article VI, pp. 42 and 43.

[44] c.p. Arts. 76-79 of the Law of Testamentary Dispositions: see Article VI, pp. 45-47, in this series.

in need;[45] (c) a former gift[46] may be taken into account in diminution, or even exclusion, of such entitlement, whereupon, it seems, the share to which such heir would otherwise have been entitled will become "free" and the founder may do what he likes with it, although it will not, apparently, be taken into account in computing his estate;[47] (d) the share of parents or spouse may be limited, as we have seen, to a life-interest and transferred thereafter to the founder's own progeny; (e) the entitlement of the offspring of a child who has died before the founder is a matter of permission, not obligation, is not limited to the bequeathable third, is not excluded by the fact that he is already an heir in a minor degree, is not limited to those whose parents were heirs of the founder, and need not, it seems, be divided according to the laws of inheritance but may be distributed at the founder's discretion;[48] while (f) the inheritance rights even of the immediate family will be considerably curtailed by one who first makes a bequest of one-third of his property to those whom he wishes to favour and then makes a *waqf,* to the maximum allowed by this Law, in favour of the same (or other) individuals.[49] It would seem, moreover, that while the points noted under (a), (b) and (d) above were fully intended—as preserving the facility previously provided by the *waqf* system for evading the strict rules of inheritance provided that this facility is henceforth used only in order to favour the immediate family at the expense of other heirs[50] or as a means of maintaining family discipline—the loopholes left under (e) for evading the rules regarding obligatory bequests, and under (f)[51] for limiting the two-thirds in which those with obligatory

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[45] Anyone lawfully deprived will be regarded as dead and the entitlement of others calculated accordingly; but where someone consents to wrongful deprivation this will not, it seems, debar his descendants from claiming their entitlement in due course.

[46] It seems, however, that a sale at a preferential price, etc., will not count as a gratuitous transaction under this Article unless the price was purely nominal, while a son's *mahr,* a daughter's *jihāz* or the maintenance of adult children (in a separate establishment) will. No rules, however, are laid down as to how the value of such entitlement is to be calculated and balanced with the gift (Contrast the rules regarding usufructuary bequests in the Law of Testamentary Dispositions, Art. 62).

[47] And thus in calculating the "free third" and the two-thirds in which obligatory entitlements exist respectively.

[48] cf.-Sanhūri, op. cit., pp. 430 ff.

[49] Contrast the provisions regarding obligatory bequests, footnote 44.

[50] This represents a natural tendency in modern life, where the claims of the immediate family are far more insistent than those of the "agnates" of the Arab tribal system.

[51] While (c) might mean that no obligatory entitlements remained and that a *waqf* of all the property still owned by a founder at his death might be wholly, or in great part, "free", in spite of the presence of members of his immediate family.

entitlements may claim their rights to what may be only four-ninths of the full estate, represent oversights or errors in drafting.

The juristic basis for these startling innovations must be sought in those Traditions which enjoin charity to one's own family first; in the opinion of certain leading Tābi'ūn that a man may not dispose of more than a third of his property in extraneous charity even during his life;[52] in the dictum of Ibn Ḥazm that any gift which does not leave enough for the donor's own needs and those of his family should be regarded as invalid; in Traditions enjoining impartiality of treatment between children; in the view of some Mālikī jurists that a *waqf* in favour of sons to the exclusion of daughters is void; and in the opinion of Ibn Ḥazm that a *waqf* which favours one child over others is valid *per se* but the benefit therein should be distributed equally between them all. A primary emphasis, however, is placed on the evils to which the former unfettered freedom had given rise, in favouritism and the hatred this engenders, in disinheritance out of malice or sudden anger, and in an utter disregard of the laws of testate and intestate succession. So the Explanatory Memorandum states. . . .

> "Thus in order to eliminate such tragedies and to follow the guidance of the Prophet, in order to act in conformity with the unequivocal spirit of the Sharī'a and out of regard for the public welfare in an age in which the religious impulse has become weak and heterogeneous influences have obtained the ascendency, and in order to attain consistency and a mutual relationship between the rules of testamentary bequests and those of *awqāf*, it was decided to restrict the freedom of founders and to lay down the following rules—which are completely consistent with the spirit of the Sharī'a and are derived from the dicta of certain leading Tābi'ūn and their successors, the dictum of Ibn Ḥazm regarding a *waqf* in favour of certain children only, the opinions of certain Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs regarding a *waqf* in favour of males only, and the view which found favour with Ibn Taymīya and his follower among Ḥanbalī jurists regarding conditions imposed by the founders of *waqfs* in general".

As for the fact that these entitlements are limited to the immediate family, this is said to be justified by the consideration that such, normally, are the only persons who share in the founder's property and income during his life; while the right of a wife to exclude a husband who marries a co-wife or divorces her is expressly stated to represent a salutory check, in the interests of society as well as the individual, on a husband's arbitrary exercise of his legal rights in these respects.

The rest of this Law must, for reasons of space, be summarised with the utmost brevity. It is important, however, to have particular regard to the salient reform which emerges, namely the attempt to ensure the wise and energetic management of *waqf* property by equat-

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[52] Here the Explanatory Memorandum cites 'Urwa, Ibn Shihāb, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and "certain early Qāḍīs".

ing it as far as possible with private property. This effect is achieved by providing for the compulsory and final separation of any beneficiary's share in a *waqf*, wherever this is feasible, from the rest of the *waqf* property; by enacting that he should himself be appointed administrator thereof, whenever he is suitable for such appointment; and by ensuring that each beneficiary's share in the *waqf* income should always go straight to his descendants and that such distribution should never unnecessarily be upset. Where, moreover, the above provisions are inapplicable, the administrator must be chosen, where possible, from among the number of the beneficiaries and largely at the discretion of those with the major entitlements; shall be held responsible to the beneficiaries for negligence or wrongdoing; and is liable to punishment if he fails to present his accounts, together with supporting receipts, whenever the court shall so demand.

Articles 31-39 complete the section of this Law devoted to "Entitlement under a *waqf*". Here it is noteworthy that the Ḥanafī doctrine that a *waqf* of a house for the beneficiaries to live in may never instead be put to hire (and vice versa) has been abandoned in favour of the more liberal Ḥanbalī ruling on this point.[53] More important still, Article 32 provides that in a *waqf* in favour of descendants in successive generations *(murattab al-ṭabaqāt)* no ascendant shall exclude anyone else's descendants but the entitlement of a deceased beneficiary shall pass to his own descendants only;[54] while the distribution of the income of a *waqf* shall not be upset by the extinction of any one series of beneficiaries but the entitlement of each individual shall continue with his own descendants unless such an arrangement would occasion the exclusion of some entitled claimant.[55] This is contrary to the Ḥanafī law in both particulars, for in such a *waqf* the Ḥanafīs allow no one in the second generation to take anything, unless it is expressly so provided, until the first generation becomes wholly extinct, while the extinction of a generation always means a redistribution of the revenue: the better view in the Ḥanbalī school, as supported by certain Mālikī jurists, has been preferred as more analogous to the principles of inheritance and more conducive to *waqfs* being developed and improved on a par with private property. Articles 33 and 35[56] carry this principle further, for Article 33

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[53] Art. 31. There is no parallel to this provision in the Lebanese Law, except for the general provision regarding conditions imposed by founders (Art.13).

[54] This is reproduced in the first clause of Art. 40 in the Lebanese Law.

[55] e.g. in a *waqf* in favour of the founder's children and then his grand-children where some of the children are already dead, for here there must be a redistribution in order to admit the offspring of such predeceased children to their share among the grandchildren. There is no parallel in the Lebanese Law.

[56] For Art. 34 see footnotes 16 and 40 above. This represents the Ḥanbalī, rather than the Ḥanafī, doctrine. For Articles 33-35 cf. Art. 40 of the Lebanese Law, clauses 2, 3 and 4.

provides that "With due regard for Article 16, if a beneficiary dies without offspring to follow him in his entitlement his share shall return to the revenue of that portion of the *waqf* from which his entitlement came. If, however, the *waqf* is *murattab al-ṭabaqāt* and the founder has provided that the share of one who dies, is excluded from, or refuses, his entitlement, shall go to those in his series of beneficiaries, or in the series next to his, then it must go to those in his series whose entitlement comes from the same portion of the *waqf* as his." Article 35 adds: "If the *waqf* is *murattab al-ṭabaqāt* and no beneficiary in one series exists at all, the income shall be given to the next series until such time as someone belonging to the former series comes into existence, when the entitlement shall return thereto". These provisions represent a further departure, of course, from the Ḥanafī doctrine, which continually regards *awqāf* as "cut-off" *(munqaṭi')* in such circumstances and pays their income to the poor, as the basic beneficiaries in any *waqf,* until the circumstances change, in favour of the Mālikī doctrine which devotes the revenue in such cases to other beneficiaries. Articles 36-38[57] concern the procedure to be followed where a founder provides that the income from his *waqf,* or some specified fraction thereof, is to be distributed between certain beneficiaries while specified stipends are paid to others. Here the dominant Ḥanafī view that such stipends must have absolute priority, however greatly the circumstances may have changed, has been abandoned for the more reasonable rule that such stipends should be reduced, if necessary, in proportion to the total income or the diminution of the *waqf* property—on the basis of certain variant Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī opinions. Finally, Article 39 summarises the rules applicable where a debt owed by the founder has been secured against part only of the *waqf* property, etc.

The next section is entitled "Division of a *waqf*" and comprises Articles 40-43.[58] These provide that any beneficiary may demand that his portion in a *waqf* be separated off from the remainder, if this is feasible and would not be plainly injurious to the *waqf* as a whole (Article 40); that where the *waqf* deed provides for donations to charity or stipends of a permanent nature, a sufficient portion of the *waqf* property to ensure these payments shall be divided off by the court for this purpose, the income from which shall be so used whether it increases or decreases in value (Article 41); that temporary payments of this sort shall not be provided for in this way but

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[57] c.p. Art. 19 of the Lebanese Law, which reproduces the substance of these three Articles.

[58] Art. 17 of the Lebanese Law corresponds to Art. 40, and Art. 20 to Art. 41; while Arts. 21-25 of the Lebanese Law concern the principles applicable to special types of *waqf* such as the *ijāratāyn,* the *muqāta'a,* the *ḥikr,* etc.

shared out proportionately between the beneficiaries (Article 42); but that no division of the *waqf* property may take place during the founder's life without his consent (which may, even so, always be revoked). The legality of such compulsory division of the *waqf* property is supported, in the Explanatory Memorandum, by reference to one of two different Ḥanbalī opinions, based, of course, on the dominant Ḥanbalī concept that the *waqf* property belongs to the beneficiaries.

Two sections regarding the administration of *waqfs* follow, the first simply entitled "The administration of a *waqf*" (Articles 44-49) and the second devoted to "The accountability and responsibility of *waqf* administrators" (Articles 50-53).[59] These introduce a number of detailed reforms, the most important of which are the provision in Article 46 that "If the court divides up a *waqf*, or if a beneficiary has a separate share therein, each beneficiary must be made administrator over his own share provided he is competent to administer it, even if this is contrary to the provisions of the founder"[60] and the express statement in Article 49 that "No outsider shall be made administrator over a *waqf* where one of the beneficiaries is suitable to administer it: while if those with the major entitlement agree in choosing a particular administrator, the Qāḍī shall appoint him unless he considers this contrary to the general interests. . . ." The reason which prompted this reform has already been noted, and the Explanatory Memorandum expresses this without equivocation when it remarks that "Perhaps the chief causes for complaints against the *waqf* system consist in the behaviour of *waqf* administrators, the way in which most of them oppress the beneficiaries and defraud them of their rights by a variety of expedients, and their shameful neglect of the *waqf* itself which occasions decrease of revenue and often ruin of the property or even its total loss, whether in whole or part. The cause of this is simply that they are not acting in their own interests at all, or not in any direct way: for it is rare for one who acts in the interest of another to be free from greed, covetousness and negligence. . . ." As for the juristic basis for this reform, this is found in the ordinary Ḥanafī doctrine that the Qāḍī may remove one administrator and appoint another in his place, even where the former was an upright man and had been appointed by the founder, whenever he considers this action in the interests of the *waqf*. And a somewhat similar motive lies behind the provisions of Article 47 that the administration of public *waqfs*, in default of the administrator appointed by—or any suitable descendant or relative of—the founder, should vest in the Ministry of Awqāf, except in the case of certain non-Islamic endow-

[59] To the latter close parallels appear in Arts. 31 and 41-43 of the Lebanese Law.

[60] cf. Art. 29 of the Lebanese Law.

ments, etc. Finally, the Articles concerning the accountability and responsibility of administrators expressly state that such are to be regarded as the agents of the beneficiaries,[61] must produce documentary support for all their expenditure except in regard to items concerning which custom decrees otherwise, and must make good any loss caused by their major fault or neglect.[62]

The last two sections of this Law are entitled "The upkeep of *waqf* property" (Articles 54 and 55)[63] and "Concluding provisions" (Articles 56-62) respectively. The expenses needed for the upkeep of *waqf* property are given absolute priority over any claim to distribution of revenue among beneficiaries in the Ḥanafī law previously applicable: but this principle, although sound enough in itself, was often misused by administrators to defraud the beneficiaries or force their acceptance of dubious accounts. Detailed rules, therefore have now been laid down for this matter, but may be varied by the court on application by the interested parties. As for the "Concluding provisions", these are chiefly concerned with specifying which of the provisions of this Law are applicable to *waqfs* created, or circumstances which came into existence, prior to its promulgation[64] and with the exemption from most of its provisions of any *waqfs* created by the King or administered by the Council for Royal Awqāf.[65]

J. N. D. Anderson

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London

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[61] This represents, among the Ḥanafīs, Muḥammad al-Shaybānī's view.

[62] Art. 50 (and Lebanese Arts. 41 and 42).

[63] To these, naturally, there are no parellels in the Lebanese Law.

[64] Art. 56-60. In general, all its provisions are applicable to prior *waqfs*, except (a) as specified under Arts. 5 and 11 above (and, in consequence, Arts. 16 and 17); (b) as regards *waqfs* of undivided shares in indivisible property under Art. 8 and the stipulation of the Ten Conditions in favour of another under Art. 12; (c) as regards acknowledgments under Art. 20 made prior to this Law, or oppressive conditions under Art. 22 already infringed prior to this Law; (d) as regards obligatory entitlements under Arts. 23-25, 27 and 30 where the founder was already dead or had no right of revocation; (e) as regards homicides under Art. 26 committed, or the distribution of income under Art. 32 (2) already upset, prior to this Law; (f) as regards the provisions concerning *awqaf murattabat al-ṭabaqāt* under Arts. 32-35 where contrary provisions appear in the *waqf* deed, etc.; (g) as regards any claims to income which had accrued prior to this Law; and (h) in regard, in so far as the parties thereto are concerned, to any final judgments, except in regard to matters of administration, which had already been given.

[65] Art. 61.

THE SPUR OF THE MOMENT IV.

"My own East
How nearer God we were: He glows above
With scarce an intervention, presses close
And palpitatingly, His soul o'er ours
We feel Him, nor by painful reason know".

Romanticising? Maybe Browning was, perhaps in poetic sympathy with "the old legend that Islam was born of the desert."[1] Yet, however true it be in sober scholarship that the lands of the sown contributed as much to historic Islam as the desert and that even the Meccan cradle was an urban one, there is truth enough in the parallel the poet draws between the all-embracing sun and the inclusive Muslim sense of God. The faith of Islam consists, it might be said, in awareness of Allah—His Will, His Sovereignty, His Judgment and His Revelation through the Prophet. It is, therefore, in terms of this consciousness of God in all the immediacy of its quality that the Christian witness must seek to fulfill its duty towards Muslims. It is in the disclosure of the supreme relevance of Christ, as He is known and loved in His Church, to the Muslim faith in and as to God, that the heart of the Christian task of communication lies. The whole logic of the Christian mission to Islam might be said to lie in the tremendous words of Christ in S. John 14, 3: "Believe in God, believe also in Me." Both verbs are, in the Greek, imperatives. For the Christian they are inseparable imperatives. The "also" is unbreakable. We cannot adequately obey either unless we obey both. For, in the final reckoning, the world being what it is, can there be a validly sustainable faith in God apart from adequately Divine activities of revelation and redemption, such as we find in Christ? Conversely a faith in Christ, in terms of New Testament thought and devotion, is, by the same token, a faith as to God, a faith in that which is only understood when it is recognized as Divine and apart from which the very Godness of God would be left, at best conjectural, and at worst illusory. The conjunction, then, is as categorical as the imperatives. It is not that faith in Christ is an item added to, or associated with, faith in God, so that the latter could be entirely itself without the former. It is, in S.Paul's words, a faith of "God in Christ," for which, at the central point of relatedness between God and man, where all religion consists and apart from which all belief is meaningless, Christ stands—the eternal assurance and crux of the manwardness of God and the Godwardness of man. This—the mys-

[1] H. A. R. Gibb, Mohammedanism, London, 1949, p. 1.

tery of the Incarnation—far from being an embarrassment to faith in God becomes the very condition of its final validity.

So the Christian holds, standing as he does under the imperative of faith in Christ inseparable from the imperative of faith in God. But how shall he share the significance of that "also" with his Muslim friends? How may he explain the necessity, as he sees it, of those doctrines of Divine relatedness to man which we call Incarnation and Redemption, to the great affirmation of Divine Sovereignty and Almightiness upon which Islam proceeds? Is his task of persuasion not closely parallel to the path of understanding which his apostolic predecessors came to follow for themselves when they grappled in retrospect with the full relevance of Christ? For Christ's claim, as interpreted by the evangelist, was simply that the habitual monotheists to whom He spoke were called to make room in their minds and worship for an enrichment of the knowledge of God which they might well have mistaken for a compromise, had they not sufficiently believed the original truth. They were summoned, not to a qualification of their faith, but to an enlargement, not to a lower but a truer view of God. What might superficially have seemed a treachery to their tradition was discovered in fact to be a surer apprehension of it. To have rejected the significance of Christ would have been not to protect but to betray their basic faith in God. The story of Christian theology is the recognition of that truth. The onus of Christian witness to Muslims lies at the same point. The more sympathetically we can enter into the Muslim sense of God—sovereign, eternal, unsearchable and compassionate—the more we shall yearn to illuminate the meaning of Christ for just that experience and to rescue that meaning from all the misapprehension which has obscured and excluded it. Here the final spur to a Christian relationship with Muslims lies. It is the purpose of this fourth article to explore it in some measure and to consider certain questions besetting our duty as interpreters.

It is for this ultimate concern that our previous studies have been preparing. For theology does not proceed in a vacuum, nor is the eternal known out of relation to the temporal. The more we can elucidate the inherent human truths of the current political or social situation the closer we shall be to understanding what faith about God should mean. The more Muslim and Christian can pursue together the diagnosis of our contemporary evils the more readily shall we grasp the meaning of God in Christ. The former we have tried to do in our earlier analysis of some general material and spiritual issues in Muslim Asia today. We have seen that the traditional pattern of Muslim culture and life has been everywhere invaded by disruptive forces. "With scarce an intervention" sang

Browning, when he thought of the Eastern immediacy of God. It is hardly so still. Happily there are yet souls who can abstract themselves from the omnipresent world to remember the omnipresent God. But they are fewer than they used to be and the competition of distraction is more intense. Bewilderment about many things tends to overtake the old simplicities and belief is exposed to many stresses. Assertiveness as a reaction sometimes only hides disquiet. Change and disturbance may provoke the faithful to seek survival in isolation from these pressures. But then the quality of faith degenerates. And that "feeling" which can dispense with "painful reason"—is it quite as sure as it was? Society at least is more secular, culture more technical and education more sophisticated. Social evils, of which religion has been culpably careless, provoke the demand for "know-how" and activist solutions which then tend to exclude God. Nationalism spurs new energies and erects new altars and Communism is present to suggest the Marxist version of orthodoxy as an opiate. Its anti-religious quality may be softened for certain times and places by its tactical necessities. But there can be little lasting doubt about its secularity. It may have some of the features of religion, including an apostolate and an apocalyptic, but it knows no transcendence and is, therefore, essentially irreligious. The more plausible its criticism of society, then, the more potent its atheistic influence. To all this we must add the bitterness of displacement from Arab Palestine and the conflict of emotions which besets the peoples of the Middle East.

In face of all, our obvious Christian duty is to serve need,—to bind up the broken-hearted, to heal the sick, feed the hungry and care for the homeless. But it is also to investigate, with all who will, the inward wrongness of humanity of which the manifold disorders of our time are, properly understood, the symptoms. This, as we have said, is an investigation from which no segment of the world, whatever its label, is exempt—an investigation in which we include ourselves and for which Christendom in its rebellon against Christ is uniquely significant. In this unreserved sincerity of self-criticism we must invite Muslims to share, believing that it is in terms of human need and the meeting of it on every level that the criteria of our theology will rightly be found. Of course the glory of God is the final theme of theology, but it is a glory in relation to mercy, and so it is in terms of mercy that, on the human side, the glory is most fully known. We put ourselves in the way, therefore, of a Christian communication to Muslims the more effectively we co-operate with them in a radically theological investigation of the ills of their world and ours, sharing with them the insights which we believe we possess in Christ into the sorrows and the plight of man. To the ex-

tent we get alongside each other in the business of diagnosis, we shall contribute to a deepening of the criteria of religious responsibility. What is common in our predicament will be the best clue to what is different in our faiths. The more truly we can come as Christians into an understanding of what it means in our present world to be a Muslim, the more clearly shall we convey to Muslims what being Christians means to us. Could there be a grander enterprise than this?

To this positive presentation of the Christian faith, against the background of the truths about man as the contemporary world knows them and as they confront all faiths in common, there are two parts. The two are in fact dual aspects of one purpose—the exploring of the meaning of the unity of God and the recovery of the identity of Christ, the relating, that is, of what Islam holds to what Islam has missed. It is at once the dissipation of misunderstanding and the deepening of conviction. Its basis is that the truths of theism and the truth of Christ are mutual. The clearer the latter the sounder the former. Our persuasion is that the Muslim understanding of God needs the Christian understanding of Christ: our labor in love must be to bring the one to the other.

But at once, the gentle reader objects, we are in the midst of controversy. And controversy is, with Muslims, precisely the thing we should avoid. Perhaps, then, we had better first face this objection. It may be that our objector has in mind a protest rather like that of Aeneas to Achilles:

> "Long in the field of words we may contend:
> Reproach is infinite and knows no end—
> Armed or with truth or falsehood, right or wrong—
> So voluble a weapon is the tongue.
> Wounded we wound, and neither side can fail,
> For every man has equal strength to rail."

Who will disagree if controversy *is* raillery, if wordy contention, charge and counter-charge, are all? May such controversy be silent for ever. But there is another thing, for which perhaps we should find another word—the patient, honest, timely joining of the issues of truth. These we cannot escape, if we conceive at all of a relation in love. There is, therefore, room for question when we find it said that "the great Muslim controversy has gone into the limbo of things that are past."[2] Has it? The temper and the methods may be different, but if we are truly "presenting Christ to the Muslim heart"[3] we are inescapably involved in doctrine about who He is and how He saves. In the order of experience the wonder of the person of Christ in word and deed may well precede the theology by which it is ex-

[2] J. Christy Wilson, The Christian Message to Islam, New York, 1951, p. 41.
[3] Ibid. p. 41.

plained. But the latter is surely an indispensable part of the Gospel discovered in the former. We cannot divorce what Christ is to us from the fact that "God was in Christ." "The missionary approach . . ." it has been argued "must abjure all doctrinal approach and invite the Muslim to penetrate into the living world of Biblical realism."[4] But can the invitation and the abjuration go together? What else is the world of living Biblical realism if not doctrine? There is, of course, every reason for avoiding the unimaginative obtrusion of credal forms. Certainly all that is acrimonious must be foresworn. We must be loyal to the proper New Testament sequence in which all dogma is first an invitation to experience, before it is a requirement of loyalty. But we must surely avoid the confusion of thought which supposes that Christ can be adequately presented and doctrine abjured at the same time. It is not, in fact, a matter of less controversy but truer, or perhaps of a purer something with a different name—the urge to utter, to mediate, to share which is inseparable from the worthiness of truth itself, a faint counterpart in our human hearts of that which God Himself has with His people until they bow to His Law and Love. However we define it, that something means yearning more than argument: it is a burden of persuasion to be borne here, not a burden of logic to be laid there: it is a concern not for verbal or mental victories but for fellowship in truth and for the exchange of the meaningful. Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. For all our revision of their methods, the great Lulls and Martyns of the past still serve as our exemplars in that Kingdom. From such "controversy" there is no loyal escape.

We return to our purpose of presenting Christianity in terms suggested by the Muslim understanding of God to discover that so much of it is required on Muslim premises themselves and that the crux of the Muslim antipathy towards it proceeds from an entire misconception of what it says. Take this quotation from a recent graduate thesis by a Turkish Muslim student in the U.S.A.: "There is nothing more revolting to a true Muslim mind than a religion which commanded the identification of a human being with the One God."[5] The same could with no less truth be said of the Christian mind. For Christianity has never commanded the identification of a human being with the One God. It has believed that the One God has in love sought His creation in the human terms most near to their need. Its meaning is totally obscured unless we see in it the recognition of a redeeming presence of God in His world in historic time

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[4] H. Kraemar, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World, London, 1938, p. 357.

[5] E. Bisbee, The New Turks, New York, 1951, p. 286 note 4.

and in the pursuit of the loving prerogatives of His eternal Sovereignty. Christians do not practise and do not believe in the deification of Christ. They believe in His Divinity. The whole movement is from God to man, not from man to God. It is not that the faith erects the human into the Divine: it is that the Divine mediates itself in and to the human. This whole Muslim opposition to Christianity as *shirk,* or 'association' with God, is built upon a misconception. In terms of apostolic discovery it may seem to be a movement which begins with the human and ends with the Divine, from the Man Christ Jesus to the living God. But the direction of discovery, which in the nature of the case could not have been otherwise, must not be mistaken for the order of reality. That the Jesus the disciples knew came to be recognized as Divine does not mean that they deified Him. Their recognition of His identity did not create it: on the contrary His identity required their recognition. "The Word was made flesh." Jesus was God become man, not man made God. It is an entire misreading of the nature of Christianity to believe that it consists in deifying a person who, apart from this credence, would have been essentially and only man. The essence of Christianity is its belief in the redeeming initiative of the living God. Properly understood that faith in no way compromises His unity. There are in Muslim thought four kinds of *shirk:* the ascription of Divine knowledge to any other than God, or of power to act independently of God, and the offering of worship or of rites to other than God. Christianity is guilty of none of these in its relation to Christ and it abhors them with equal warmth with the Muslim. But it does believe that God in His own independence of power and His own knowledge is not inhibited from bringing His sovereign unity into active relation to the world and its need. It is an enterprise worthy of all the patience we can command to lift the stigma of 'association' which Islam has so long and wrongly laid, through misunderstanding, upon Christianity,—the more so as the rejection of what the term is meant to signify is no less a Christian than a Muslim concern. The whole direction of the Incarnation is the antithesis of *shirk.* The Christian faith must be seen, not as impairing the unique Sovereignty of God, but as vindicating it so jealously as to believe that it is unconquered.

But to insist that the Christian faith as to God in Christ is in no sense a belief in deification is only the negative side of our duty. We must see the Muslim faith in the Oneness of God as itself requiring that which, truly understood, Christ is. In theological language this requirement is in one word a theodicy. But the need for a theodicy appears to have been very rarely felt in Islam and on Muslim premises would seem to be at once indispensable and impossible. Let us begin

with the Divine Sovereignty. "Allahu akbar"—God is greater—greater than all, beyond the reach of all comparison or 'association'. And He, the "Raḥmān" has an entirely free prerogative of pardon, which, to the Muslim mind, makes any 'scheme' of salvation unnecessary. So it sees the Christian 'scheme' as some artificial, superfluous imposition on that prerogative, which could be dispensed with. But what if that 'scheme' be understood as precisely that prerogative at work? Here is God's Sovereignty going about its Divine purpose. For must not that sovereignty be related to whatever is evil in the world of its creation? Must not the Oneness of God be undisputed? But is there not an idolatry of evil by which men flout Him and make to or of themselves other Gods? On any sufficient understanding of man must we not allow that there is a quality of evil, of moral rebelliousness, of defiance in man, which challenge the very Godness of God and violate the laws which are His sovereign willing? How then shall the living God be God over all, except by a redeeming victory which not only asserts His rule but establishes it, which not only judges but saves? We Christians owe a large-hearted, persevering witness to Muslims that we believe in God so sovereign that He subdues all things to Himself, including those things which are only subdued by love and suffering, by a Cross and the crown of thorns.

We need, too, to call our Muslim friends to beware of the limitation of the Divine involved in forbidding God the possibility of self-limitation. For that, starkly put, is the situation. Incarnation they assume is unthinkable for God, inconceivable and impossible. The idea behind the prohibition may have been a true one. Its anti-idolatrous purpose is praise-worthy. But surely we must beware of forbidding things to God, even in what we think are the interests of truth. If the Lord in His inscrutable sovereign wisdom chooses to pursue His design in ways we venture to think unworthy of His greatness perhaps we trespass on His Sovereignty in the very act of defending it. At least His Sovereignty should be allowed to determine what befits it. Should not we, given adequate safeguards for our belief that it is so, be ready to recognize the utter freedom of His almighty purposes, even to the length of a Divine humility? Will it be a true 'Islam' always to disallow, in a rightful zeal against idolatry, the hallmarks of His power in condescension, the sure tokens of His Sovereignty in the pathway of sacrifice? Will it always be our duty to greet with adamant rejection the disconcerting pledges of Almightiness? Shall we say that God is too great to come among men in Christ? Suppose the fact is that He is too great not to come. Everything depends upon the credentials of Christ and these must have the most thorough study. But it is just that which a theological pre-possession against the very possibility for ever precludes. Christ is silenced without a hearing. This for the Christian is the great heart-ache of Islam.

But before we pass to this fact of Christ, there is one further point about the Incarnation. It is well to distinguish in our minds between denying the fact of it and denying the possibility of it. The distinction is important. Denial of the fact must hinge upon historical evidences and experience. But the denial of its possibility, to which Islam would seem to be committed, surely jeopardises the whole possibility of religion. If we deny that God *could* become man, as distinct from the question whether He *did,* then it would seem that we have also denied the whole possibility of reciprocal mutuality between man and God. In that case all worship, prayer and prophecy become meaningless. The very essence of religion turns upon a Divine-human relation in some sense. If the Incarnation is inconceivable then we have on our hands a universe in which God and man are out of all possibility of relation. The mystery of the doctrine of the Incarnation is thus only the focal point of a mystery which is at the heart of all life. We must beware also of disallowing it on grounds which exist only by disregarding it. As Professor Leonard Hodgson has finely said: "It is in Christ that we see what manhood is capable of being and when we see it in Him, we cease to think that it is incapable of being the vehicle of the life of God".[6] If we are required by the reality of religion as a whole to leave open the possibility of the Incarnation, then the question of fact as to its alleged occurrence can be tested on historical grounds. This should act as a kind of "habeas corpus" to bring the New Testament history out of imprisoning Muslim prejudice into the purview of serious Muslim thought.

We are back finally at the fact of Christ. Let us come to it, as the ultimate spur in our Christian-Muslim relationships, by way of a few reflections which may have been accumulating in the reader's mind. The foregoing, of course, is only a brief glance at a vast canvas. Many aspects have been neglected. We sorely need a thorough presentation of the Christian faith in the Muslim mental world, a statement of what Christians believe and why in terms sensitive to Muslim prepossessions. Such a work might, among other things, fill the gap when objective study develops of comparative religion in independent Muslim state educational systems.[7] A few paragraphs, like the above, can only be suggestive. The doctrine of man, though assumed, needs to be articulated clearly. We have said nothing about the Prophet and the Qur'an and their place in an Islam which had opened itself to the considerations of theology we have outlined. We have been content with two basic claims—that the traditional Mus-

[6] Leonard Hodgson, Christian Faith and Practice, Oxford, 1950, p. 68.

[7] A Muslim writer, Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, published an objective account of Christianity as he understood it to be in Lights of Asia, London, 1934, pp. 65-114.

lim antipathy to the Christian doctrine of Christ rests on a misunderstanding and that the sovereign prerogatives of God in which Islam believes can be seen to be operative, with no valid qualification, in the redemption which makes Christianity. But the question arises: Is it worth while? It is all so theological and the theological way is doomed to wreck itself on the massive obstacles. Such an enterprise as a commendation of Christianity in this expectant fashion is not a viable policy in our present world. Had we not better envisage a Christian role among Muslims, in more modest and more immediate terms? Are there not feasible objectives we should set ourselves rather than striving for the impossible? Inter-faith understanding, international peace, goodwill, scholarship, service—these are our sufficient goals. For the sake of these, theological issues, like sleeping dogs, had better lie. Is not Islam anyhow impervious to an approach that is distinctively Christian, which aims at a relation in which there are no conspiracies of silence?

What shall we say to these things? Do not all lesser services in fact require the greater? Have we not a loyalty both to what we hold and to the deep needs of our fellow-men? If we refrain from proclaiming the depth and fullness of our faith do we not disavow it for ourselves? Moreover, what in the end is the alternative? We have insisted through these four successive articles that the key to all interpretation is the dilemma of human sin as revealed in the world as we see it now. Divested of its Gospel and reduced to a simple moralism, Christianity may ease its own relationships to the non-Christian world, but it will also fail mankind. All too evident is the bankruptcy of a self-sufficient humanism. If, by evading the larger ministry of reconciliation, we were content to encourage Islam into a likeness to those human philosophies of self-sufficiency, we should be inviting it to disappointment and perhaps disaster. Some recent Muslim apologists have been all too prone to identify themselves with a natural optimism which has not taken the measure of the human situation. Muḥammad 'Alī, for example, the revered Khilafatist leader in Muslim India, who was buried in Jerusalem, believed he had found in H. G. Wells and his "God the Invisible King" a modern echo of the essentials of Islam. In the current Muslim examination of capitalism and Communism there is very evident an easy disposition to ignore the problems of human nature or to assume them solved, somewhat in the manner of those whom G. K. Chesterton once described as begging the biggest question and on that basis solving all the rest. It has been the belief of Christianity from the beginning that the crucial problem both for the moralist and the statesman is man. Regeneration is the final answer. Can we compromise that insight by inviting our non-Christian

contemporaries to any less radical attitude to themselves? Not so shall their perplexities be illumined and our trust performed.

Furthermore, the Christian obligation is not dependent upon whether or not there is easy hope of its success. It is constant in season and out of season. Statistics do not constitute and should not deter it. It stands in its own right. It finds its satisfaction in the service of truth, the dissipation of error, the enlargement and instruction of men's hearts and minds. Even the tedium of vocabulary—a field which calls for much new effort on our part—has its inner glory. To fill words with new content or to find new expression for old truth, to labour until ideas are fully transmitted across every hurdle of thought or term,—these are its vocation. "Can we rescue a word, and discover a universe? Can we study a language and awake to the truth? Can we bury ourselves in a lexicon, and arise in the presence of God?".[8] It would be unwarranted also to suppose that any area of humanity is finally impervious to the truth we have been given to share. Since Christ Jesus came into the world His significance cannot for ever be lost upon so large, so vital, so potential a segment of it as Islam has come to be.

So we return in conclusion to Christ and to what was referred to in the January issue as His discredit. All the theological obligations of the Christian Church towards Islam centre round the person of our Lord. Our task is to enable Muslims to recover His identity. When we consider it, how sadly attenuated is the figure of the Christ as Islam knows Him. Absent are the crowning features. Only a few parabolic sayings are preserved and traditions about a homeless wanderer, who had not where to lay His head. But the reason for His homelessness, and its intensity, go all unsuspected. Where are the stirring words, the gracious deeds, the compelling qualities of the Master? Where is the mystery of His self-consciousness as the Messiah, where the tender, searching warmth of His intercourse with His disciples, where "the Way, the Truth and the Life"? Where are the words from the Cross in a Christ for Whom Judas suffered? Where the triumph of the resurrection from a grave that was not occupied? Neither Galilee, nor Gethsemane, are to be found there. There is neither Nazareth nor Olivet. Only Bethlehem is reflected in the Quranic picture, but not by name and with a reflection that is dim and faint. To enlarge, to complete, to rescue this emasculated portrait of the Christ is a labour of love that for the Christian is a bounden duty. That Christ should have been so largely lost to the Muslim world is call enough. The reproach of it is ours: the loss is

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[8] From Sir Edwyn Hoskyns' Cambridge Sermons, quoted by A. M. Ramsey, The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ, London, 1948, p. 6.

theirs. It will only be retrieved by patient ministry. We must restore the lost identity in the zeal of our own vision of its fullness.[9]

Years ago in the early days of his service and pondering the wonder of the Passion, Temple Gairdner wrote: "If these things are so, then my life must be changed. . . . The true appeal for missions is that if Christ prayed those prayers (the prayers of Gethsemane and Calvary) then of course the world must know."[10] We may well extend his conviction over the whole Divine-human epic of Christ Jesus our Lord. If He truly was as by faith we have received Him to be, then there is no doubt that the telling of the world is inseparable from the belief. Such convictions unshared would be in fact disowned.

> "If thou hast ever held me in thy heart,
> Absent thee from felicity awhile,
> And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain
> To tell my story".

Do we romanticise ourselves in thinking that Christ so speaks to us out of our contemplation of Islam? Or is the suspicion that we do only a symptom of our dullness and our decadence?

KENNETH CRAGG

Hartford, Conn.

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[9] It has been suggested recently in one quarter that we might establish contact with Islam in terms of a common belief in the Virgin Mary. But only in the fullness of the living Christ is the significance of His Birth real. As long as the whole meaning of His Person and His Mission is in doubt coincidence of Christian and Muslim belief about His Birth remains of secondary importance. For the view in question see Bishop Fulton Sheen, The World's First Love, New York, 1952.

[10] Constance E. Padwick, Temple Gairdner of Cairo, London, 1929, p. 68.

The First Arab Student Convention to be held in the United States assembled at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in June last. It heard addresses on The Position and Responsibility of Arab Youth in the Middle East, The Causes of Restlessness in the Arab World, and The Question of Understanding America. Ten Group Discussions took up salient issues, such as Population Problems, Agricultural and Industrial Development, the Role of the Arab States in U.N.O., Social and Educational Advance and the Problem of the Arab Refugees. Many Eastern and Western experts were invited as Advisors and attended these discussions. One Seminar studied Islam and Arab Culture. Against the historical background it examined the present and future of Islamic-Arabic Culture, facing *inter alia* the relation of Islam to other faiths and the issues involved in the unity of the Islamic world and the present diversity of Islamic nations. An excellent precedent has been set.

God's Word in Man's Language. By Eugene A. Nida. New York, Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1952, pp. 191. $2.50.

The Secretary of Versions of the American Bible Society has had the unique opportunity of working with Bible translators in many of the remote regions of the world. Through these contacts and his own pioneering work in linguistic analysis he has amassed a wealth of illustrative material which he hopes will be useful for sermons and lessons as well as an introduction for the layman "into a previously unexplored realm of Christian experience."

Therefore, the dramatic story of providing *God's Word in Man's Language* is not written as a novel for leisurely reading but as a reference book of the file-card variety. In spite of this, the reader will no doubt be enlightened and delighted by the thumb-nail sketches of Bible translators beginning with the Day of Pentecost and continuing through the present. Four chapters (5-8) are devoted to this portion of Church History. The only reference to Arabic in the book concerns the meritorious work of Henry Martyn who "accomplished in six years what few men have accomplished in sixty." (p. 103). That is, he finished three New Testaments in three different languages: Urdu (1814), Persian (1815) and Arabic (1816).

The various solutions to the translating of several vocabulary items occupy the next three chapters (9-11). This section appears to be a supplement to the five chapters which appear in the author's *Bible Translating* (American Bible Society, New York, 1947.) Such words as "faith, believe, trust, doubt, worry, confidence, redemption, reconciliation, forgiveness, confession, denial of self" and many others are illustrated with examples from many languages. For instance, "the Uduks along the Ethiopian border speak of "worry" and "being troubled" as "shivering in one's liver." S. John 14:1 does not sound like English: "Do not shiver in your livers; you believe in God, believe also in me." (p. 23). Or again, "can you blame one group of Indians in Latin America for being disgusted with Paul when they read in their Scriptures that he talked of 'leading a wife around like an ox' (I Corinthians 9:5)? The translator overlooked the right word 'to lead by the hand' or 'to accompany' and has thoughtlessly used a term which meant only 'to lead around like some unruly animal.' " (p. 44)

The readers of The Muslim World may be disappointed to discover only one reference to Arabs (Arab slave raids in Africa, p. 13), one reference to Arabia (among a list of place names, p. 76), two notes about Muhammadans (pp. 26 and 168), two about Arabic (the work of Henry Martyn, pp. 101 and 103) and none for Islam. Yet one finds 203 listings for the Amerindian languages (North, Central and South America) and 113 for the African languages! This is not strange inasmuch as Dr. Nida is a co-director of a summer institute of linguistics which meets each year at the University of Oklahoma. Much of the work of this institution deals with the reducing of unwritten languages to writing. Hence the large amount of space given to the Amerindian and the African languages.

Three helpful indices are provided. In addition to the General Index there is a Language Index which also includes the geographical location of little-known languages, and lastly, a Scriptural Index. The latter is interesting in that all of the references are to the New Testament words except three (Genesis, Ezekiel and Habakkuk). No doubt, one can list among the reasons for this fact, the lack of translators who are well-trained in Semitic languages and cultures.

Dr. Nida has produced a volume written in a lively manner which should be supplemented from time to time with additional recordings of the accomplishments of translators of God's Word in Man's Language.

J. Maurice Hohlfeld

Hartford, Connecticut

La Pensee religieuse d'Avicenne (Ibn Sinā), par Louis Gardet. Paris, 1951. 8 vo. pp. 238. Librairie philosophique J. Vrin.

It is probable that most readers of this Quarterly are aware of the celebrations that were held earlier this year both in Baghdad and in Teheran in honour of the thousandth anniversary (lunar calendar) of the birth of Avicenna. Perhaps fewer are aware of the large number of publications in divers languages which have been honouring that same anniversary. Doubtless the major outcome of all this attention to Avicenna will be the critical editions of his works which we are promised, but hardly of less importance are some of the studies which, in honour of this anniversary, have been devoted to the exposition of his thought. Prominent among them must be reckoned this volume before us by Louis Gardet, which appears as No. XLI of the *Études de Philosophie mediévale* edited by Etienne Gilson.

When Avicenna is referred to as *ash-Shaykh ar-ra'īs* it is generally his eminence as a philosopher that is in mind, and the perusal of some of these most recent studies serves only to increase one's respect for the importance of his position not only among the Arabian Aristotelians but in the history of philosophy as a whole. We are only beginning to understand the true extent of his influence, both directly and indirectly, on the development of both philosophy and theology in Europe. Yet among his own co-religionists he was, it will be remembered, attacked, and even bitterly attacked, as a corrupter of learning and of religion. When such names as Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al-Ghazālī and as-Suhrawardī are associated with attacks of this kind there is legitimate ground for asking why this should be. In the pages of Louis Gardet's study this whole story appears in a new light. Since Avicenna was so roundly charged with irreligion this study is devoted to the peculiarly religious elements in his thought, and is based, as we might expect, on the Arabic and not on the Latin texts. The author takes up his treatment of such problems as the creation of the world, determinism, divine knowledge, bodily resurrection, prophets and prophecy, in order to show on the one hand Avicenna's relation to Greek thought, and on the other to Islamic orthodoxy, and endeavors to demonstrate that there is a proper sense in which his thinking belongs to the genuine stream of Islamic religious thought.

To clinch this he devotes a further section to an examination of the well-known mystical tractates, seeking to show that these are not

to be treated as something apart, but that they have fundamental connections with characteristic elements of his thought found in the other writings. Both here and in the earlier chapters the treatment is enriched by copious references to relevant parallels in other areas of ancient and mediaeval thought and to modern discussions of the same. To many readers this will probably prove the most interesting feature of the book. The volume is provided with excellent indices and a most welcome table of technical terms. We have on several occasions had the opportunity to recommend to our readers studies by Louis Gardet but none more deserving of their attention than this excellent approach to a study of Avicenna.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University, New York

Recueil de Textes de Sociologie et de Droit public musulman contenus dans les "Prolégomènes" d'Ibn Khaldoûn. Selected and translated by Georges Surdon and Léon Bercher. Algiers, Imprimerie Officielle, 7 and 9 Rue Trollier, 1951. pp. 112, foreword, sketch of life of Ibn Khaldoûn, French translation, index, table of contents; pp. 80 Arabic text and table of contents.

This is Vol. VI of the Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Etudes Supérieures Islamiques d'Alger, wherein are treated Chapters 1-29 of Section 2 and Chapters 6, 19, 25, 28, 29, 31, 34 of Section 3 of Book I of the "Prolégomènes" of Ibn Khaldoûn.

The double object of this work, according to the authors, is not to replace the monumental work of De Slane on the Muqaddima of Ibn Khaldoûn, but to provide for students reliable documentation on the institutions and foundations of the Muslim system of justice and, at the same time, initiate students into the art of translation of juridical texts. The authors observe in the foreword that while De Slane's culture was that of a philosopher and not that of a jurist, the style of Ibn Khaldoûn is juridical, containing technical terms with which one must be familiar in order to comprehend the subject with exactness. With this in view the authors have presented a translation of selected fragments of the "Prolégomènes."

A further interest may, in the minds of the authors, be attached to this work. It may help one to understand the political and social problems inherent in the relationships of the two dissimilar groups of the North African population today, the indigenous and the French. The phenomenon of agnation ('aṣabīyyah), solidarity of family ties, for example, has close bearing upon the evolution of society. An insight into these matters should help the reader to understand with more clarity certain Muslim attitudes.

While the writings of Ibn Khaldoûn have been studied usually from the point of view of the historian and historical philosopher, it is equally important, according to the authors, that they be examined from the standpoint of the jurist and sociologist, for in this sphere Ibn Khaldoûn was, by spirit and experience, eminently competent. The student who has such an object in mind will find this work to be of real value. One may well ask today what influences on modern trends are being exerted by the element of agnation which is so prominent in Arab life, by the idea of theocratic sovereignty, by the injunctions and promises of the Qur'ān, by divinely inspired legisla-

tion. What have they to do with social evolution? How are they related to the present political situation? What implications have they for the missionary program?

It is noted with regret that the younger of the two authors, Georges Surdon, passed away before the publication of this volume.

ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Somerville, N. J. and Tunis, Tunisia

Abu Ja'far Muhammad b.Jarir al-Tabari's The Reign of al-Mu'tasim (833-842), translated and annotated by Elma Marin. New Haven, 1951. 8 vo. xvii, pp. 142. American Oriental Series, Volume 35.

During the glorious days of the 'Abbasids under Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786-809) and al-Ma'mūn (813-833) it might have seemed that the might of the Eastern Caliphate would continue for generations, but to observing eyes the signs of its decay were already visible, and under al-Wāthiq (842-847) and al-Mutawakkil (847-861) the two sons of al-Mu'taṣim, the one dissipated and the other bigoted and vindictive, the glory departed. Thus Gibbon could justly say: "With Motassem, the eighth of the 'Abbasids, the glory of his family and nation expired." It was thus a shrewd choice to select for translation aṭ-Ṭabarī's account of the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, where the causes of that decline become so clearly evident.

Ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī was not a historian, he was a chronicler, for which reason his monumental work is rightly named by its modern editor-in-chief the *Annales*. Year by year he moves forward chronicling the events of the year as he finds them recorded in his sources. He has a certain pattern of his own but is not concerned to interpret events, to correct glaring inconsistencies in his sources, and not averse to recording two or more accounts of the same event from different sources. For this reason his *Annales* are at times more valuable to us than a more sophisticated history would have been. Yet there is an element of sophistication in his work, which is revealed in his choice of material. He by no means gives us all that he found in his sources. From other works we know quite a deal about notorious events which happened in such and such years, of which Ṭabarī must have known, but which he passes over without mention. This is true of this section of his *Annales* which deals with the reign of al-Mu'taṣim. It is incredible that he should not have known of the Caliph's falling out with the great jurist Aḥmad b.Ḥanbal, yet he makes no mention of it, nor does he tell of the embassy to Baghdad from Byzantium, headed by no less a personage than Johannes Synkellos, to announce the accession of Theophilus.

He does, however, record in this section of his work a good many things that throw light on events of interest in this reign. It was al-Mu'taṣim who built that extraordinary city of Sāmarrā which has stirred interest anew in our day. He it was who sent the general Ujaif to make war on the Zuṭṭ, who had come from India to lower Mesopotamia, and exile them to the Byzantine borders, whence some think they infiltrated as the Gypsies into Europe. In his reign we see very clearly the growing importance of Turkish officers in the Caliph's armies, and get interesting side-lights on both Byzantine and Armenian history in that connection. Perhaps the most interesting

thing of all, however, is the evidence, revealed by the rise of such men as Bābak, of how superficial was the Islamization of large areas of the conquered provinces ruled by the Caliphs.

The present translation though at times it read a little woodenly is, where this reviewer has tested it against the original, accurate enough, and though it is somewhat surprising to come upon such things as Nöldeke's name misprinted twice on the same page, and to be told (p. 3) that the Prophet's cousin 'Alī was his nephew, it is on the whole a competent piece of work which will be welcomed by varied groups of students.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University, New York

Recueil de Textes relatifs au califat abbaside d'Al-Mu'tacim à Al-Mu'tamid, extraits de la "Chronique" de Tabari. Selected by Marius Canard. Algiers, Imprimerie Officielle, 7 and 9 Rue Trollier, 1951. pp. 159.

This is Vol. V of the Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Etudes Supérieures Islamiques d'Alger. It contains selections from Section III of the well-known "Tārīkh al-'Umam wa'l-Mulūk, otherwise entitled "Tārīkh (or Akhbār) al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk, by Abū Dja'far Muḥammad bin Djarīr al-Ṭabarī (d.A.D. 923).

The renown of this gifted traveller, observer, inquirer, jurist, Quranic commentator, teacher and historian from Ṭabaristān has not diminished with the centuries. His commentary on the Qur'ān, "Djāmi' al-Bayān," was one of the earliest. His "History of the World," for such is the "Chronique," beginning with the patriarchs and ending with the record for July 915, and continued by other historians, was a stupendous undertaking for his time. He utilized all possible sources of information at his disposal: personal inquiry, oral tradition gathered during his travels and long residence in Baghdad, and gleanings from other literary works, recording his material in chronological order without other attempt to organize or analyze.

Scholars today have at their disposal notable historical works of al-Ṭabarī, such as Hermann Zotenberg's translation from the Persian version of Abou 'Ali M. Bel 'Ami in four volumes (Paris 1874); the Leyden edition (1901) of M. J. de Goeje whose twelve and one half volumes are said to contain but one tenth of the original; "Annales at-Tabari," edition of S. Guyard and M. J. de Goeje (E. J. Brill 1881). The present "Recueil de Textes" by M. Canard may be found in the Brill edition of de Goeje, Ser.3, Vol.2, beginning p. 1179. It lacks the critical notes and frequent vowelling of proper names found in the Brill edition. Yet as the average student and Arabic reader would not have ready access to the afore-mentioned standard and rare editions, the "Recueil" here presented will provide for purposes of study and general reading a clear text of important passages relative to the Abbaside period which, in addition to the subject matter of political turmoil and strife in and around Baghdad between A.D. 833 and 892, will serve to familiarize both orientals and occidentals with the literary style and historical concepts of one who merits recognition.

M. Canard is professor at the University of Algiers.

ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Somerville, N. J. and Tunis, Tunisia

The Book of Idols, Being a Translation from the Arabic of the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* by Hishām Ibn-al-Kalbi. Translated by Nabih Amin Faris. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1952. pp. 59. $2.50.

It is an excellent service that the translator and publisher have rendered in making this work readily available for English reading students of Eastern life and thought.

The author, who died early in the Third Muslim century, describes in this work the beliefs and practices of an earlier and abandoned age of Arab life. He preserves records and states facts significant for Muslims and others today. Some Arabic theologians, following theory rather than historical reality, discredited the author, but historians accepted and quoted, and so preserved, much of his work. These portions, in lieu of the original, have been used and even translated into English by Western scholars. Then in this century a copy of the work itself was recovered and published by Ahmad Zeki Pasha in Cairo. This primary edition has been translated into French and German and is here for the first time translated into English in full with the results of previous scholars used and acknowledged.

Dr. Faris in his preface describes Ibn al-Kalbī's standing as an author and the history of the *Kitāb al-Asnām.* His plentiful annotation gives the full information that scholars like to have brought together and elucidates the text splendidly for the general reader. The misprints are remarkably few.

The only suggestions to be made by this reviewer are that in reproducing names from classical texts the classical, rather than the modern Beirut, use of the *alif* should be followed. Classical Arabic used or omitted the *alif* to signify differences of relationship that uniformity of style overlooks. The other suggestion is that since this translation of Ahmed Zeki Pasha's edition of the *Kitāb al-Asnām* does not include the appendix listing the pre-Islamic Arabian idols not mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī some English journal should publish the list as a valuable contribution to the subject.

E. E. C.

Hartford, Connecticut

The Cairo Nilometer: Studies in Ibn Taghri Birdi's Chronicles of Egypt, I., by William Popper. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951. 8 vo. pp. xi, 269. University of California Press.

Readers of the Quarterly may be acquainted with the volumes edited by Dr. Popper in the *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* of the famous Chronicle *An-Nujūm az-zāhira fi Mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira,* by Abū'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrī Birdī. Every editor of such a Chronicle comes across problems which cry for investigation, but which he must pass over for the moment, hoping to be able to return some day to give them the attention they deserve. The special investigation of one such problem lies before us in this volume. In his Chronicle Ibn Taghrī Birdī carefully records the annual statistics of maximum and minimum levels of the water in the Nile, on whose availability for agricultural irrigation Egypt's prosperity depends. He gives the maximum for every year from A.H.20-871 (A.D.641-1467), and for most years gives the minimum, with sometimes other data concerning the water situation. Now we know how in modern times careful record has been kept of the

fluctuations in the water level of the Nile, and there are a number of indications to show that in Ancient Egypt water-level measurements were taken. We also know that at the Arab conquest of Egypt the early Muslim rulers used certain Christian Copts as keepers of the *miqyās an-Nīl,* the Copts having apparently inherited the lore of Nile measurement from the earlier Egyptian priesthoods. But what were these Nilometers? Where were they situated? How were the measurements taken and recorded? There is a good deal of information about these and cognate matters scattered through the works of the Arabic writers, e.g. in Mas'ūdī, Ibn Duqmāq, Ibn Jubair, Qalqashandī, Qazwīnī, Ibn Aibak, Ibn Iyās, Maqrīzī, etc., and in this special study Dr. Popper has assembled and discussed all the relevant material on the Cairo Nilometers. The first part of the study deals with the Nilometers themselves, where they were, what they were like and how they were worked. In the second part he takes up the statistics and the problems which arise when we attempt to interpret them. The work is well supplied with diagrams and plans and tables of statistics, and brings in the evidence from modern days to illustrate what has come down to us from earlier days, but from its very nature a study of this kind does not leave much the reviewer can do save to describe what the work is about.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University, New York

A Vowelled Arabic Reader. Issued by The Middle East Centre for Arab Studies at Shemlan, Lebanon. Beirut, American Press; 1950. pp. 46.

This is a series of readings for beginners in Arabic. It was compiled for use of students at The Middle East Centre for Arabic Studies and is a successful effort to provide a reader for foreign, adult beginners who hitherto may have used readers designed for the Arabic-speaking school children. Through this reader the foreign student is more quickly introduced to a vocabulary and sentence form he will meet in Arab countries.

The words chosen are in common colloquial, as well as literary, use. Such a book should soon find wide usage wherever Arabic is being taught to foreign adults.

KENNETH L. CROSE

Hartford, Conn.

The First Thousand Words. Issued by The Middle East Centre For Arab Studies at Shemlan, Lebanon. Beirut, American Press, 1950. pp. 26.

This is a list of carefully chosen words intended primarily for use with *A Vowelled Arabic Reader,* but also to give a basic, necessary vocabulary for the adult.

The words are for the most part placed alphabetically according to their root form. However there are some that are found under the prefixed "servile" letters. The vowelling is kept to an essential minimum which it would seem prepares the student more rapidly for unvowelled reading.

KENNETH L. CROSE

Hartford, Conn.

L'Arab Vivant. By Charles Pellat, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 11 rue Saint-Sulpice (VIe), 1952. pp. 410 + v.

The author, professor at the National School of Oriental Living Languages in Paris, here contributes a work to facilitate the learning of a working Arabic vocabulary. It does not pretend to be exhaustive. Rather it is limited to words employed currently in speech, press, radio, literary works, public addresses, listed according to the "statistical method." To begin with the author utilized the "Qāmūs as-sahāfa al-'arabiyya al-yaumiyya" which was published at Jerusalem in 1940. After further research and by a process of elimination and comparison M. Pellat established a list of 2,700 words which should represent about 90% of words generally occurring.

The Arabic-French vocabulary is arranged not alphabetically but in nine subject groups such as nature, man, private life, archeology and history, etc., each group having verbs, nouns, adjectives and expressions listed separately. The finding of a word is facilitated by an index in French and one in Arabic. Words are classed according to roots. Most of the words are used throughout the Arabic speaking world. Local usages are so marked according to country.

The script presentation may appear confusing at first sight to one not accustomed to French writing. This should not detract, however, from the real usefulness of the work to the student who desires to improve systematically his Arabic vocabulary, and it may spur him to greater effort to master the French language in which so many excellent works by renowned Arabic and Islamic scholars have been produced.

Elmer H. Douglas

Somerville, N. J. and Tunis, Tunisia

The United States and Turkey and Iran. By Lewis V. Thomas and Richard N. Frye. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. xii, 291, with 2 maps, appendices and index. $4.25.

This double volume is the tenth in the American Foreign Policy Library series edited by Sumner Welles and Donald C. McKay. It is the second volume relating to Muslim lands, the first being E. A. Speiser's, *The United States and the Near East,* which appeared in 1947, and was revised in 1950.

In reality two short books bound together and sharing an index, this volume offers a guide to American understanding of contemporary Turkey and Iran and covers events to the spring of 1951. The emphasis is chiefly on their recent history and present domestic and international situation. Professor Thomas, who teaches Turkish Language and History at Princeton University, addresses his work, . . . "to the American reader with a sincere hope that the result may be a small contribution towards furthering America's interests, hopes, and ideals." He then evaluates in 152 pages what Turkey amounts to, her resources, the nature of her population, her industrial plant, the manner in which she is exploiting her present resources and equipment, and her specific plans for increasing that exploitation. The result is a severely condensed, clear, and highly informative study of a revolutionary land. The new Turkey rose, phoenix-like, out of the ashes of defeat, despair and foreign occupation in 1919, to reach her present relatively secure and dignified position. The Turks have suc-

ceeded by dint of hard work, a clear understanding of their own capabilities, an unusually steady foreign policy, and thanks to the brilliant leadership of the late Gazi, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. His successors, Ismet Inönü, President from 1938 to 1950, and Celal Bayar, the leader of the Democratic party and present President, have led Turkey along a steady evolutionary path.

Mr. Thomas emphasizes our need to comprehend her great Ottoman past if we would understand Turkey today. Atatürk created a new, homogeneous nation and tried, from the top down, to inculcate his own belief in republican government in her citizens. The struggle to develop leaders is closer to fulfillment than is the drive to enlighten the peasant masses, comprising some seventy-five per cent. of the population. Two party government became a dramatically confirmed reality in the elections of May, 1950, when the Democratic party was swept unexpectedly into power over the National Republican or People's party which had virtually monopolized political power for twenty-seven years. President Bayar directs a healthy, united, westward-looking Muslim society determined to survive and aware that this requires courage, self-denial, strength and powerful friends.

Turkey has long been an adversary of Russia. Since the enunciation of the Truman doctrine in 1947, the United States and Turkey have worked in growing collaboration to strengthen Turkey's military potential and her agrarian economy. Considerations of mutual self interest govern this policy and both countries have already reaped substantial benefits from it. An astonishing wealth of fact and interpretation has been distilled into this analysis. Brevity has perhaps demanded certain generalizations, such as those in regard to the early attempts to form political parties after 1923; the virtually changeless life of Turkish peasants; and the admitted shortcomings of her state-controlled industries. These are debatable, yet hard to avoid in such a restricted text. Nevertheless, this is easily the best recent appraisal of contemporary Turkey which I have read.

Mr. Frye is assistant professor of Middle Eastern Studies and General Education at Harvard, and recently edited, *The Near East and the Great Powers* (Harvard University Press, 1951). He describes Iran as almost completely different from Turkey; more a part of Central Asia, less unified, weaker, larger, with extremes of wealth and poverty, and beauty and climate without a counterpart in Turkey. In culture and religion Iran has always expressed her unique genius. One unhappy consequence of this superb heritage is the traditional tendency among Persians to glorify and seek to emulate bygone eras. This nostalgia hampers their capacity to plan for the future. It is a trait far less apparent in the new Turkey. Xenophobia is rampant in Iran. Her long susceptibility to foreign pressure and interference, especially from Russia and Great Britain, a neutrality cynically violated in both world wars, and the pathetic shortage of educational opportunities for the peasants who are virtually landless, or for the nomadic tribesmen who are an anachronism within the Persian political structure, combine to make her people prone to demagogy. Iran's revolution under Reza Shah Pahlavi was more superficial than Turkey's. Iran is also economically more dependent on Russia, and her oil resources are of great world import. Mr. Frye adds that, un-

like Turkey, Iran is not the beneficiary of any E.C.A. grants, or large scale military assistance program. He argues cogently that the strategic and psychological gap which this omission accentuates in Iran is dangerous and unwarranted.

Professor Frye calls for a more whole-hearted effort by the United States to help Iran and buttresses his views by emphasizing moral as well as political considerations. Both he and Mr. Thomas review the worthy American missionary and philanthropic activities which, for over a century, have contributed so much to Turkey and Iran. No mention is made of indigenous private welfare activities, but Mr. Frye praises the pioneer work of the Near East Foundation and stresses the need for a great expansion of Technical Assistance programs in Iran in order to improve agricultural productivity, public health, and to create the ancillary institutions and facilities required to help the peasants obtain and maintain their own land. The relatively powerful communist party in Iran has ample social mal-adjustment to exploit, and its very success demands vigorous constructive action.

Both studies contain useful appendices giving basic statistical, and political information together with annotated lists of suggested readings. It is regrettable that two such timely analyses had to be compressed into this brief volume. Many readers will hope for an enlarged, revised edition devoting more space to such basic elements as land tenure, agriculture, religion, education, and future leadership potentials in this ancient area. This book is dedicated to the memory of a great friend of Turkey, the late Walter Livingston Wright, Jr., who taught and inspired both of its authors. Professor Wright was to have written the section on Turkey but his work was only in rough draft at his premature death in May, 1949. His loss is a severe blow to all friends of the Near East, yet among his students and in this sterling volume his influence survives.

Howard A. Reed

Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

My Turkish Adventure. By Pamela Burr. New York, W. W. Norton & Co. Inc. 1951, pp. 219. $3.00.

This book by a short term teacher at the American College for Girls in Istanbul, adds yet another to the rapidly increasing number of publications about the countries of the Near and Middle East. True to its title, it is a personal adventure of one who can tell a story entertainingly and describe a scene vividly. However, it can only be the recounting of an adventure and as such depicts a single short period in the life of Turkey. So rapidly is Turkey changing that already only a short time after publication some of the descriptions are obsolete. The private soldiers described on page 103 would be difficult to find now. The army, due to American Military Aid, is today well dressed. The course in Military Science, a government requirement for students in the final year of the lycée, rarely involves so many teachers as to warrant the statement on page 38 that "soldiers wandered about the marble corridors" of the college. Usually only one Turkish officer conducts this course.

In her short time here Miss Burr gained real insight into the Turkish character, especially of students, and soon learned that she

had to win the confidence and the allegiance of her students before she could go far in her instruction. She sums up the position of Turkey since Ataturk and states the dangers to Turkish youth exceedingly well.

There are inevitable mistakes in the book due to the fact that Miss Burr was here such a short time. Among them, for instance, on page 74 she says the Sheikh-ul-Islam "had the authority to depose the Sultan himself." In actual practice the Sheikh-ul-Islam could give a Fetva saying it was all right to depose a Sultan, but he could not do it himself. Again on page 204 she calls the Towers of Anatolia Hisar built by Beyazid the first, "Mohammed's Tower," confusing them with those on the European shore of the Bosporus built by the Conqueror. She also seems unaware as she retells her experience of teaching one day in a Turkish public school of the fact that a goodly number of Americans have taught for periods of years in such schools. Also on page 164 she speaks of surnames having been introduced "to imitate the West." Had the author more background she would have known that the adoption of surnames was a practical necessity. Great confusion had resulted from the lack of such names. On page 141 she speaks of Eyoup as the cousin of the Prophet whereas he was one who lived in his time and aided him, i.e. a "companion" of the Prophet.

For anyone interested in Turkey or coming out to this country, this book is useful in giving background information. It is very readable, though some of its unkind characterizations make one wish the author had not been so eager to be colorful at the expense of those who were her friends.

Ruby P. Birge

Istanbul, Turkey

Strange Lands and Friendly People. By William O. Douglas. Harpers, New York, 1951. pp. 336. $4.00.

Readers of *The Muslim World* should be interested in this book because it covers travels in the Muslim lands. The author is a Justice of the United States Supreme Court who went on foot and horseback into many out-of-the-way places from Greece to India.

It would have been very dangerous if not impossible to go into some of these regions had not his high official position made it quite certain that he would not get into serious trouble. He was no doubt protected with great care by the governments of the various countries as well as by the United States diplomatic service.

Having been so largely directed under official supervision, though Justice Douglas does not seem to realize the fact, he was kept from meeting many missionaries in these lands and seeing their work. This is a great pity for he would have been overjoyed to know these people and see more of what they are doing. The author is a fine Christian man and makes no effort to hide the fact. He has been a Sunday school teacher but does not always get his Bible references straight.

He did visit the common people and see how they lived, and so his conclusions are far more valid than most travel books. He feels that: 1. The great weakness of our government has been our negative attitude. We have been anti-Communist but we have done little to

help these people in a positive way. 2. We have depended too much upon the military to do our thinking and planning and have thus failed to appreciate the great social and political revolution that is sweeping Asia. Our influence has not been for the uplift of the classes that are stirring in these countries, but we have usually been on the side of governments and classes that oppress the common people, simply because they were against Communism. He speaks very frankly for one in a high government position, but we suppose a Justice of the Supreme Court is not much worried about losing his job.

There are a great many small mistakes in the book, but we believe his main conclusions are right and should be supported by Christians in general. He is an interesting writer, and the book sheds abundant new light on these middle Eastern lands which are now so much in the public view. It is a good book to read.

J. Christy Wilson

Princeton, N. J.

Journey to Persia. By Robert Payne. E. P. Dutton, New York, 1952, pp. 256, $3.75.

The title well describes this book—it is a "journey," not more or less. On this journey the author saw a good deal and imagined more. He writes beautifully and his prose has a certain quality of poetry. Many of his descriptions are those of a poet and one feels as though he might easily have put them in blank verse.

It was thrilling to read the description of places one knows very well in new terms. The writer sees many things that most of us miss. It is imagination and fine diction that sets this off from any one of a dozen travel books about Persia. The author describes his own reactions rather than the places he visited. This is probably just as well because the ideas he brings out are often novel, but the descriptions, though beautiful, are not essentially authentic.

For one on a journey he handles names fairly well but makes his share of mistakes, as we might expect. It is evident that the writer knows English literature and must have studied Persian poetry, as well as the early travel books, for his journey. His lack of an understanding of Iranian art or history makes his descriptions of his own feelings and reactions seem a little thin in the face of the great historic and artistic shrines he visited.

Most of the books about Iran continue to be written by travelers. Old Persia hands have a saying to the effect that books on the country are written by those who have been there less than three months. If you stay longer you begin to be hampered by facts. This is better than many of the travel books about Iran but in our estimation does not compare to *Pageant of Persia,* for instance, a book written under the pen-name of Henry Filmer by a man who had done some research on the subject. The book should be read with the idea of enjoying subjective description by a really talented author who has the soul of an artist.

J. Christy Wilson

Princeton, N. J.

Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India. By A. H. Albiruni, M.A., pp. 258, with index. Lahore, Pakistan. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1950.

Anyone interested in the general course of events leading up the establishment of the Muslim country of Pakistan will profit from a reading of this composite of ten brief biographies of Muslim leaders from Sayyid Aḥmad Khan to Liaquat 'Ali Khan. The fact that there has obviously been some reading of present history back into the lives and writings of those whose careers are traced is not to be wondered at, since the formation of Pakistan is still too recent to allow for complete objectivity, but this has not been over done. The variety in choice of subjects for the biographies is interesting, since it shows how interest in the situation was spread among Muslim leaders of many types. Thus we find authors like Hali and Shibli included in the same list with politicians like Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, Muḥammad 'Ali Jinnah, and Liaquat 'Ali Khan, and author-politicians like Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Abul Kalam Azad in the same list with an author-philosopher such as Iqbāl. The two weakest treatments are those of Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk, where the author has permitted pre-occupation with the internal affairs of Aligarh University to turn his attention away from the main issue.

Careless proof-reading has resulted in an almost inexcusable number of typographical errors, and the author's puzzling use of the comma and the English definite article makes many of the sentences difficult to understand at first reading.

The book comes to a very abrupt close with the biography of Liaquat 'Ali Khan. A conclusion, giving a general summary, would have been in place.

JAMES D. BROWN

Princeton, N. J.

Soviets in Central Asia. By W. P. and Zelda K. Coates. New York, Philosophical Library, 1951. pp. 288, maps, photographs. $4.75.

The authors of the *Soviets in Central Asia* believe that, irrespective of viewpoint, "no one can deny that the Soviet national policy . . . has been an outstanding success." This is their portrayal of that success in Central Asia—a success which owes nothing to the "blindness of the imperialist," but everything to the prevision of Lenin and Stalin, for "the eyes of the Soviet Power are not imperialist, they are strong, penetrating and far-seeing" (p. 99). The book falls into two parts, a shorter (93pp.) historical survey of Central Asia and a longer descriptive survey of the present condition of the area and of each of its five "smiling and prosperous" republics. Each part represents an argument demonstrating the fruitfulness of Soviet national policy: first, the transforming impact of the operation of Soviet policies on the historical development of Central Asia; second, a descriptive and statistical measurement of the achievements of these policies by the end of the nineteen forties.

This book does "prove," or remind us of one very important fact: under the Soviets tremendous material advances and large and rapid social alterations have taken place in Central Asia in a far shorter time than many, if not most, people once thought possible. It is in no way clear, however, that these changes were the direct result of the application of the widely proclaimed Soviet national

policies of equality, self-determination and free development for national minorities in the Soviet Union (pp. 73, 74), nor even that these policies were given a fair trial, for it is evident they were subordinate to the strategies and aims of revolution, the establishment of Soviets and the dominance of the proletariat. As Stalin pointed out in 1923 (pp. 85, 86), the real problem facing the Communists was the absence of proletarians in these countries. Under the Soviet system this meant that these liberated nationalities were "entirely unable to take advantage of the *rights* granted them by the revolution" (Italics added). Stalin indicated that only after the proletariat emerged could the Soviet national policies become meaningful, for only local proletarians could serve as a "bridge" to Communist Russia. Though this is implicit in the text and apparent on a close reading of the extensive quotations on the national policy which are included, the authors either fail to understand it, or wish to minimize it.

The major part of this book is made up of a mass of data on the achievements of the Soviets in Central Asia. What does this material and social development mean? Among various possibilities, it could be the result of efficient planning, organization and mass mobilization backed by compulsion, or of a complex of expanding economic and social institutions and movements, or possibly of strong social and personal incentives free to find expression in developing productive enterprises. All of these forces have operated in various societies and places. The final chapter of the book is devoted to a denial that these developments in Central Asia were the result of forced labor or compulsion. But it would seem that no rapid and major social changes occur without elements of coercion; Soviet writers themselves have not yet explained, even to their own satisfaction, how the problem of transforming the nomads of Kazakhstan into settled agriculturists and workers was accomplished in one decade. (*Voprosy Istorii,* No. 4, 1951.) That these great developments have raised the standard of living throughout Central Asia, there is no doubt; but that these developments have brought complete satisfaction and won the acceptance of the people of Central Asia is clearly untrue, for in the last few years there have been repeated Russian complaints of the persistent survival and expression of Muslim attitudes, feudal tendencies and nationalistic sentiments of a bourgeois type (i.e., desire for political and economic independence) among these peoples.

Soviets in Central Asia is neither adequate as an account of developments and conditions in Central Asia, nor, more seriously, is it reliable. The authors do not seem to be familiar with many important Soviet monographs on the area and, apparently, they have not exposed themselves to the few serious studies available in English. Many important events and facts are ignored or given inadequate and misleading treatment. A few of these are the role of the war in the redistribution of Russian industry; the importance of German, and even some Manchurian-Japanese, machinery and equipment, as well as the labor of German and Japanese war prisoners, in expanding industrial developments after the war; war-time labor mobilization and lengthened work shifts (up to 12 hours); redistributions of population within the USSR, giving the Central Asian Republics in 1939 the largest ratio of Europeans to natives

(1:2 to 1:3) of any multi-national area in the world; resistance to sovietization by religious groups and to collectivization by large numbers of Muslim peasants; and the change in Russian policies towards religion and Islam during the Second World War, and again after the war. Moreover, it is difficult to understand how the authors could write of regions where Islam was the religion of from 65 to 90 per cent of the population, making its strong impress on every aspect of life, political, economic and social, without giving it sufficient notice in the text to merit even one reference in the index under any kind of heading.

John M. H. Lindbeck

Yale University, Conn.

The State of Asia. A Contemporary Survey. By Lawrence K. Rosinger and Associates. Issued under the auspices of the American Institute of Pacific Relations. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, pp. XII, 522, XXIV. 3 maps. $6.00.

To do justice to the importance of the book would require fourteen different reviews, instead of one, each dealing at length with a different contribution. Thirteen authors pooled their knowledge, not counting William L. Holland of the American Institute of Pacific Relations who contributed the Foreword. The Editor, Lawrence K. Rosinger, who in 1946 worked in China as a correspondent and who visited India in 1949-1950, wrote the introductory article *The State of Asia* (pp. 3-21) and the chapters on *China* (pp. 22-95) and *India* (pp. 443-488). Owen Lattimore, Director of the Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins, who has spent approximately thirty years in China and adjacent areas, contributed the chapter on *Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet* (pp. 96-128) together with Eleanor Lattimore whom he married during his years in the Far East. The author of *Korea* (pp. 129-154) is Shannon McCune, Professor of Geography at Colgate University. Miriam S. Farley, now Editor of the "Far East Survey," and formerly Research Associate at the American Institute of Pacific Relations, wrote *The Korean Crisis and the United Nations* (pp. 155-179). John M. Maki is the author of the chapter on *Japan* (pp. 180-220). He is now Professor of Japanese Government and Politics at the Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington. Ellen Hammer, formerly with the Council on Foreign Relations, now on the research staff of the Institute of International Studies at Yale, reports on *Indochina* (pp. 221-267). The chapters on *Thailand* (pp. 268-291) and on *Malaya* (pp. 332-361) are the product of Virginia Thompson, and her husband, Richard Adloff. S. B. Thomas who studied in China from 1947 to 1948, and is now Editor of the "Far East Digest," analyses the situation in *Burma* (pp. 292-331). Shirley Jenkins, from 1944 to 1948 Associate Editor of the "Far Eastern Survey," prepared the chapter on the *Philippines* (pp. 362-404). The article on *Indonesia* (pp. 405-442) was written by Paul M. Kattenburg who in 1949-1950 traveled throughout Indonesia, studying local political processes. Holden Furber contributed the chapter on *Pakistan* (pp. 489-512).

The manuscripts were submitted for critical comment to sixty-odd specialists in order to achieve accuracy and balance. An index of 24 pages and a bibliography, the emphasis of which is on the period since World War II, listing nearly 200 books and articles, will prove

useful. Additional sources are quoted in the footnotes which appear on the pages to which they belong—for which the publisher should be heartily commended.

Readers of *The Muslim World* will be most concerned with the chapters on Pakistan, India and Indonesia, although the pages dealing with Sinkiang are not without interest. From the chapter on Indonesia we do not learn much more than the fact that Islam served as a "rallying point against foreign influences" and that it "was a unifying element, since 90% of the people adhere to it." The "Masjumi," a Muslim federation of parties, is described as conservative on economic and political issues (p. 422).

The chapter on India reviews its modern history up to and including 1950. It is stressed repeatedly that India officially rejects the idea of being a Hindu state. However, "the Indian Muslims . . . still seem stunned by the effects of the partition. . . . It cannot yet be said that the Indian Muslims have been able to find a clear place in the politics of the new India." Mr. Rosinger seems to feel that the average Indian Muslim shuns political controversy as much as possible, although some are active in politics (p. 474 and p. 475). One error may be noted here in passing: the size of the New India is given as "a little less than a quarter of a million square miles." (p. 443).

The chapter on Pakistan traces the origin of the "most populous Muslim state in the world" back to the dreams of Muslim students in the early 1930's influenced by the poet Iqbal. The events leading to the partition and the first years of the independent state are discussed in detail. The Kashmir conflict, of course, takes up considerable space in this chapter as well as in the chapter on India. "Events since 1947 show that Jinnah and his followers have made a predominantly Muslim state in the Indian subcontinent a reality" (p. 511), but the problem of the place of Islam in the future constitution is by no means solved.

On the whole, the book offers a wealth of information difficult to get elsewhere. It is invaluable as a reference work in the recent history of the world between Japan and Pakistan, Mongolia and Indonesia.

PAUL W. LESER

The Kennedy School of Missions,
Hartford, Conn.

Nationalism in the Middle East, A Series of Addresses presented at the Sixth Annual Conference on Middle East Affairs, sponsored, and published, by the Middle East Institute, Washington, March 21-22, 1952, pp. 68, $1.00.

One can be grateful for this publication without being satisfied with it. Its contributors are distinguished enough—Professor Thomas of Princeton on Nationalism in Turkey, Dr. Hurewitz of Columbia on Nationalism in Israel, Professor Young of Princeton on Nationalism in Iran, Professor Schorger of North Carolina on Nationalism in the Arab World, Dean Howard Worth of the American University at Cairo on Education in Egypt Today, Professor Thomson of Harvard on Nationalism and Islam and a final summary on the General Characteristics of Nationalism in the Middle East by Dr. Hans Kohn. But, like all such symposia are likely to be, it is somewhat selective and inconclusive. At least two speakers range quite freely over farther

as well as nearer Asia, over European as well as Near Eastern history (more than half the paper on Nationalism and Islam is in fact an exposition of nationalism in Europe). It is, therefore, all the more sad that Pakistan was not, for purposes of this Conference, incorporated into the "Middle East." Or is this omission simply the price of having to draw the line somewhere? Its inclusion, however, would have compelled attention to much the largest issue belonging to nationalism within the Muslim segment of humanity,—an issue which is not broached here,—namely, whether or not nationalism, in any sense, is compatible with the inclusive universality and the exclusive uniqueness of the structure and fellowship of Islam as historically understood by Muslims. Professor Kohn, it is true, declares that "nationalism in my sense of the word can only come in a secularized society." That may well be so. But many Muslim publicists affirm that there is a Muslim nationalism, which is 'sui generis,' neither Western nor culpable, just Islamic. This series of addresses might have reckoned with the searching internal, doctrinal and practical problem, which Muslim thinkers and statesmen are facing, as to how nationalism and Islam are to come to terms with each other. Such a reckoning would have helped to the facing, both by Muslims and ourselves, of the further truth that nationalism is already an anachronism in the world.

Other major aspects of the theme are discussed in an illuminating and useful manner. The problems involved in building national unity, the diversity of reaction to the dynamism of the West, the complexity of populations, the lack of certain deep social and historical pre-requisites of stable democracy, the habits of mind long associated with antagonism to external pressure and now summoned to constructive responsibility—these topics are carefully passed under review. The paper on Education in Egypt Today is a valuable factual summary of Egyptian educational policy and progress. If Egypt, however, is well documented here in the educational field, there is nothing about the significant cross-currents of Egyptian nationalism in the paper on Nationalism in Arab lands. Its writer chooses Morocco and Lebanon to illustrate what he calls his "random generalizations." It would have been good to see also some discussion of Syria, where the example of Turkey is perhaps most active in the Arab world, and of Iraq, whose evolution to self-government was the surest and speediest of all the mandated Arab lands. Incidentally in this paper some type-setter—can it be—has had fun with the "I said's" and "He said's" of two chatty stories.

No doubt the paper on Israel will be regarded as the most controversial. It discusses objectively the status of the Arab minority but seems to imply, surely erroneously, that this is among the "resolved" Arab-Israel problems. The situation would appear too fluid and indeterminate to warrant this view. As for the "unresolved," the most serious is the refugees. On that, says the paper, "Israel does not feel responsible for the creation of the problem." It would seem that here, as everywhere, everything depends upon the perspective. One cannot interpret that drama by beginning with the last act in 1948.

Is it a little ungracious to complain about the rather conspicuous omissions of this symposium? At least its theme is timely. No doubt convenience suggested the organisation of papers on the regional,

geographical basis. But it might have been a more searching "forum" had we been treated by these experts to Nationalism and (tantalising conjunction!) Society, Minorities, Religion, Social Welfare and World-Order—in the Middle East.

A. K. C.

The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers. The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation. By LeRoy Edwin Froom. Washington, D. C., Review and Herald Publishing Association. Vol. I, pp. 1005, 1950. Vol II, pp. 863, 1948. Vol. III, pp. 802, 1946. Volume to follow.

Strictly speaking these volumes do not belong in the realm of Islamic research. Their subject is the interpretation of prophecy by the Christian Church through the ages, with special emphasis upon the books of Daniel and Revelation. This work represents on the part of L. E. Froom many years of patient study and meticulous research during which he has accumulated a wealth of source material. He has brought it to us in a very readable form, with accompanying charts and an excellent bibliography and index.

Even a cursory glance through these volumes reveals that the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse exercised a much deeper influence upon the thinking of many outstanding theologians through all the ages, than is generally assumed. Not only the well-known "Apocalyptic Horsemen" but also many of the other visions such as those of various beasts, women, trumpeting angels, and the seven last plagues played a significant part in the interpretation of historical events. Such an outstanding event as the birth of Islam and the world power gained by its warriors and statesmen could not pass unnoticed by the expositors and thus we find that Islam occupies a rather large place among the different schools of prophetic interpretation.

Muhammad and the Saracens, and later the Turks, were considered to be represented either by the pale horse and its rider or by the fifth and sixth trumpets, or by Antichrist. Cardinal Cusa in the fifteenth century suggested that the mysterious number 666 might refer to Muhammad. Others, especially Jewish expositors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, saw Muhammad in the "Little Horn" which rose from the head of the fourth beast described in Daniel seven. Luther either adopted this interpretation or came to the same conclusion, and many of the German theologians accepted it. Luther, Melanchthon and others at that period considered the Turks to be the last wrath of Satan preceding the end of the world.

Two centuries later, when the danger of Europe being overrun by the Turks became remote, the prophecy of the drying of the waters of the Euphrates in Revelation sixteen was applied to the waning power of the Turk. It is extremely interesting to note how greatly the question of the Turk agitated the minds of Christian groups at certain periods.

L. E. Froom does not place any special emphasis upon Islam or the Turkish question, but every student interested in gauging the influence Islam has exercised upon Christian theologians, and Christian thinking will find in these volumes a valuable source of information.

E. W. Bethmann

New York, N. Y.

Eastern Science. An Outline of its Scope and Contribution. Wisdom of the East Series. By H. J. J. Winter. London, John Murray, 1952. pp. 114. 4 s. 6 d.

The five chapters of this small book deal with Science in the Ancient Civilizations of Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt, India and China, then with Mediaeval China and India, some aspects of Arabic Science and finally with some values of Modern Asian Science.

The term science is used not in its broad sense of all systematized knowledge but applies rather to the mathematical and physical departments of knowledge. Our readers will be especially interested in the thirty-two pages devoted to the Arabic mediaeval period and the diffusion of science, the accounts of some great Arabic thinkers and experimenters and the scientific legacy of Islam to Christendom.

The selection of the facts to be mentioned, the clarity, withal the brevity, of the presentation and the judgments pronounced are all highly commendable. It is well for Orientalists whose interests are concentrated within areas or languages or disciplines to find within a hundred pages so much evidence that other parts of Asia as well as Greece and Egypt have stores of knowledge valuable for the understanding and enhancement of their own specialities. Well-founded hope is expressed that time and investigation will recover lost treasures and crafts and arts and wisdom for the greater enrichment of man's life and character.

The Bibliography is an excellent guide to the best and fullest accounts of particular contributions to the history of science in all its branches.

E. E. C.

Hartford, Conn.

Changing Pattern, The Church Missionary Society Annual Review 1951-52, Ruth Allcock, C.M.S., London, 1952. pp. 48.

If this booklet is to be described, as it well may, as a miracle of condensation, it will expect of the reader the miracle of amplification. What it expects it will also serve. Yet it remains the business of the reader to see more than he reads, to see, beyond the words of this terse but moving survey, the living, toiling, aspiring enterprise which it describes. As the Foreword says, it does "justice to but a fragment of the material that might have been used." West and East Africa, the Sudan, the Near East, India and Pakistan and farther Asia, are each briefly visited. We are invited to see the cost and the glory of Christian discipleship among the Jordan refugees, in the Quetta Hospital on the North West Frontier, among the Chinese "squatters" in Malaya, to trace the pattern of change and of Christian faith and hope surviving and redeeming it. The aim of the booklet is to multiply, through every possible means, such tokens of the meaning of Christ as that carried on the Arabic admission card to the Old Cario Hospital: "We welcome you to this hospital in the Name of God; and in the name of the Love which is manifested in the Person of Jesus Christ." But before the welcomes can multiply the servants must. This booklet aims to enlist, as well as to describe.

A. K. C.

CURRENT TOPICS

Among the many tributes that have been paid to the life and leadership of Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer comes one from the St. Andrew's Brotherhood, Lahore, which he helped to found in 1927 as a Fellowship of Muslim converts. The evangelist whose ministry the Brotherhood supports is the Rev. Chaudhri Inayat Ullah, an ex-Ahmadi, whose story was related in The Moslem World, Vol. xxxiii, in 1942.

> "This General Meeting of members and friends of St. Andrew's Brotherhood places on record its deep sense of sorrow on the death, at the age of 85, of the most revered and beloved founder, patron and friend of the Brotherhood. Having labored for a great part of his life in Muslim countries in the cause of evangelism, he was in the truest sense of the term an apostle to the Muslim world. By word, deed and example, he preached Christ at all times and in all places. . . . He maintained a keen interest in the welfare of our Brotherhood. Through its program more than fifty souls have been brought to the feet of Christ. Dr. Zwemer's missionary zeal will always spur us on to greater efforts. . . . God be praised for his wonderful example, his sacrificial life and devoted service."

The agitation in some quarters in Egypt for the right of women to vote or sit in Parliament has evoked a firm opposition from Al-Azhar University. A committee issued a statement declaring that the claim was inherently unsuitable and against Islamic Law. Al-Azhar seems to have taken the step of declaring against the idea, not only because of the strong feminist demand for electoral rights but also in rebuttal of the statement made by the Indian Muslim leader, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that there was no basis in Islam for denying women the rights enjoyed by men. The Al-Azhar view is that such denial of electoral rights is sound on the ground that women are swayed by emotion and of unstable judgment. Whereas men are impartial and balanced, women stray from the path of wisdom even when they have the advantage of good education. Women, it holds, should be given that degree of education which will enable them to understand and follow the Muslim religion and to engage in such appropriate public professions as nursing and teaching. But the franchise is not properly among their rights, involving as it does attendance at public meetings, speaking in public and long journeys. It is unlikely that either the right to sit or the right to vote will yet be granted in Egypt.

The August issue of *The Islámic Review*, Woking, makes a spirited defence of the rights of women and calls the Al-Azhar statement "an un-Islamic pronouncement."

The Shawwāl (June) number of *Majallat al-Azhar*, the Journal of the University, contains an article on Religious Preaching in Islam today, calling for discourses in the mosque and elsewhere, of a style and content calculated to hold and arouse the hearers. The author, Dr. Aḥmad Amin, criticises preaching in general as too often archaic and irrelevant.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary

I. GENERAL

Documents. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Spring, 1952. pp. 221-240).

Includes comment by Ismail Rikhalidi on the Constitution of the United Kingdom of Libya and also the text of the Constitution of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan.

Kunst und Volkstum in Islam. Ernst Kuehnel. (In *Der Welt des Islams,* Leiden. vol. 1, no. 4, 1951. pp. 247-282).

A well-illustrated description of the artistic development of early Islam.

Liaqat Ali Khan. (In *The Round Table,* London. December, 1951. pp. 8-10).

Sketches the political contributions of this high principled, level-headed statesman—another victim of assassination.

Literature on Arab Libya. James W. Crudgington. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Spring, 1952. pp. 247-251).

Discusses outstanding works which have appeared since 1797, when British Frederick Horneman wrote of his journey from Cairo to Mursuch.

Notes sur la Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur de C. Brockelmann. Georges Vajda. (In *Journal Asiatique,* Paris. Part 1, 1952. pp. 1-36).

Continues a critique begun in an earlier issue.

The Bible in Persian Translation. Walter J. Fischel. (In *The Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge. Part 1, 1952. pp. 3-45).

Although Biblical allusions abound in early classical Persian literature, there is no evidence to prove possession of a translation of the Bible as a whole until the time of Giambattista Vecchietti, 1552-1619, who collected and translated Judaeo-Persian manuscripts, searching for them throughout the Near East and the India of Akbar the Great.

Der 22 Internationale Orientalisten Kongress in Istambul vom 15-22 Sept. 1951. Dr. J. Aufhauser. (In *Zeitschrift fuer Missionswissenschaft,* Muenster Westf. Heft 1, 1952. pp. 62-66).

Gives data on the subject matter of the addresses and on the various speakers.

II. ARABIA

Coup and Counter Coup in the Yemen. Majid Khadduri. (In *International Affairs,* New York. January, 1952. pp. 59-68).

Recounts the events following the assassination of Imam Yahya in 1948.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

An Account of the Battle of Hattin Referring to the Frankish Mercenaries in Oriental Moslem States. Jean Richard. (In *Speculum,* Cambridge. April, 1952. pp. 168-177).

Discusses statements found in a Latin manuscript in the Vatican Library.

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Spring, 1952. pp. 207-220).

Covers December 1, 1951 to February 29, 1952 and stresses Franco's overtures to the Arab World.

L'Indépendance du Khalifat. Zia Gueuk Alp. (In *Der Welt des Islams,* Leiden. Vol. 1, no. 4, 1951. pp. 301-304).

Due to the Turkish Revolution, the Caliphate is independent again as it was before the rules of the Ommayads, Abbasids and Ottomans.

Der Islam in Suedafrika. F. Hagel. (In *Zeitschrift fuer Missions Wissenschaft,* Muenster Westf. Heft 1, 1952. pp. 28-36).

Presents statistical information and emphasizes the spread of Communism rather than Muhammadism among the Negroes.

A Medieval Islamic Kingdom off the Tanganyika Coast. (In *The Illustrated London News,* London. October 13, 1951. pp. 591-593).

Describes the 15th and 16th buildings erected by the Kilwa kings on Kilwa and Songo Muara Island in the Indian Ocean.

Das Osmanische ScheinKalifat von 1922. Gotthard Jaeschke. (In *Der Welt des Islams,* Leiden. Vol. 1, no. 3, 1951. pp. 195-217).

An historical article, with an 11 page supplement, describing the deliberations of the interested nations over the abolishing of the Caliphate.

IV. QUR'AN, TRADITION, THEOLOGY

Adatlaw and Muslim Religious Law in Modern Indonesia. Jan Prins. (In *Der Welt des Islams,* Leiden. Vol. 1, no. 4, 1951. pp. 283-300).

Contains a careful comparison of 'adāt, or customary law, and sharī'at, or Muslim law.

Homicide in Islamic Law. J. N. D. Anderson. (In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.* No. 4, 1951. pp. 811-828).

An extensive study.

The Influence of Hermetic Literature on Moslem Thought. A. E. Affini. (In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.* No. 4, 1951. pp. 840-855).

Shows evidence of the availability of the writings of Hermes Trismagistis for the use of Ibn Sīna, Ibn Ṭufayl and Ibn 'Arabī.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

Economic Relations between Lebanon and Syria. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. October, 1951. pp. 226-232).

The complete economic unity existing during the French Mandate was disrupted in 1946 when the two countries became independent and they are still in a state of constant friction over customs fees.

Investment in the Petroleum Industry of the Middle East. Mohammed Yeganeh. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Spring, 1952. pp. 241-246).

A well-documented statistical article.

Das Irakische Bildungswesen und Seine Probleme bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg. Walther Björkman. (In *Der Welt des Islams,* Leiden. Vol. 1, no. 3, 1951. pp. 175-194).

A thoroughly annotated account of education in Iraq.

The Jordan Valley. M. G. Ionides. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. October, 1951. pp. 217-225).

Discusses plans for irrigation which would be the salvation of thousands of Arab refugees now in the Kingdom of Jordan, but which would have to secure Israeli coöperation.

A Note on Arab Schooling and the Arab Role in East Africa. Ali Ahmad Jahadhmy. (In *African Affairs,* London. April, 1952. pp. 150-152).

The newly-established Muslim Institute at Mombasa should play a great part in dealing with sectionalism and in working for united action.

Social Problems in Teheran. J. E. F. Gueritz. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. October, 1951. pp. 233-244).

An emphasis on outward grandeur permeates the city, but it cannot conceal the squalor and poverty of the slums which official indifference does little to alleviate.

Trends in Pan-Turanism. Charles W. Hostler. (In *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. January, 1952. pp. 3-13).

Describes the movement to unite the Turkish peoples and indicates its difficulties and implications.

Tuareg Nomadism in the Modern World. H. T. Norris. (In *African Affairs,* London. April, 1952. pp. 152-155).

Pressed upon from North and South by alien, though better organized, societies, the unique, archaic Tuareg way of life may be lost for only about ten thousand natives still survive.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Background to the Kashmir Issue. (In *Notes on Islam,* Calcutta. July, 1951. pp. 65-71).

Presents various aspects of this disturbing situation.

France in the Muslim World. Ivor Thomas. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. January, 1952. pp. 66-68).

Gives high praise to French administration and accomplishment in North, West and Equatorial Africa, where twenty-five million Mohammedans are under her sway.

French Morocco: Torch Plus Ten. Charles R. Cadman. (In *The Atlantic,* Boston. July, 1952. pp. 50-54).

In spite of friction, largely aggravated by Arab nationalists and their efforts to gain American sympathy and support, America should be careful to do nothing to weaken the hand of France, our ally, in her time of stress.

Greece, Turkey and N.A.T.O. (In *The World Today,* London. April, 1952. pp. 162-169).

Tells of the pros and cons involved in a delicate situation.

Islam in the United States. (In *The Round Table,* London. December, 1951. pp. 30-36).

Although Islam appreciates the advantages accruing through its U.N. membership, the Muslim States, with the exception of Turkey, feel torn between the need for the United States and her European allies and the machinations of the Soviets.

The Middle East in the Global Pattern. Edwin M. Wright. (In *World Affairs Interpreter,* Los Angeles. Winter, 1952. pp. 362-373).

The Western Powers must strive to win Arab confidence and coöperation thus eliminating both Soviet subvention and zealot fanaticism.

Perspectives Marocaines. Robert Montagne. (In *Politique Étrangère,* Paris. July, 1951. pp. 259-278).

Pleads for Franco-Moroccan amity and coöperation.

Problèmes Marocains. M. DeLaubadière. (In *Politique Étrangère,* Paris. July, 1951. pp. 245-258).

Describes the workings of the Protectorate and advocates realistic reforms.

La Rèaction contre la Culture Occidentale dans le Proche Orient. H. A. R. Gibb. (In *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain,* Paris. Part 1, 1951. pp. 1-10).

Attributes the revolt against things Western to the growing power of Arab nationism and to Soviet influence.

Russia, the Middle East and Oil. Anatole G. Mazour. (In *World Affairs Interpreter,* Los Angeles. Winter, 1952. pp. 414-423).

The plan laid before the United Nations in 1947 by the International Coöperative Alliance offered the best possible means for giving a sense of security to the Arab countries and a fair return for their huge oil contribution to the world.

VII. ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Lt. Col. F. C. Balfour. (In *The Quarterly Review,* London. April, 1952. pp. 262-276).

Presents a picture of British and Egyptian contributions to the preservation and development of the Sudan and voices the hope for a thoroughly workable future.

Britain's Achievements in tke Sudan. J. R. Hyslop. (In *The New Commonwealth,* London. December, 1951. pp. 413-414).

A review of progress.

The Church in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Oliver Branchesi. (In *Worldmission,* New York. Spring, 1952. pp. 97-101).

Tells of headway made in the last fifty years resulting in the Christianizing of about 26% of the population.

Egypt and the Sudan. (In *The India Quarterly,* New Delhi. October-December, 1951. pp. 351-363).

A political survey.

The Egyptian Imbroglio. (In *The Round Table,* London. March, 1952. pp. 112-125).

Traces British-Egyptian friction since 1947, when occupation troops were finally evacuated from Cairo and Alexandria.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

"Bethlehem and All the Borders Thereof". E. F. F. Bishop. (In *World Dominion and the World To-Day,* London. January-February, 1952. pp. 5-8).

Describes refugee conditions and the Christian methods employed to alleviate them.

Scenes from the Nile. Arthur T. Upson. (In *World Dominion and the World To-Day,* London. January-February, 1952. pp. 20-22).

Gives peeps at the development of the Nile Mission Press.

Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. July, 1952. pp. 357-358).

An appreciation of a great Christian worker, who, as early as 1907, wrote "Missions to Muslims are the only Christian solution of the Eastern Question."

The Spiritual Mission of Lebanon. Gabriel Malik, S.J. (In *Worldmission,* New York. Summer, 1952. pp. 142-146).

Roman Catholics in Lebanon number about 485,000 souls and prospects are bright for converts from the Druses and Melkites.

The Christian East Today. The Rev. C. T. Bridgeman. (In *The Bulletin of the Near East Society,* New York. June, 1952. pp. 5-6; 11).

Concludes a series of articles on the ancient churches of the Near East begun in the December, 1951 issue and expresses hope for the future of the Christian minorities in their relations with Islam.

Three Spheres of Influence. Fulton J. Sheen. (In *Worldmission,* New York. Summer, 1952. pp. 131-141).

Besides American, European and Communist teachings, there is the great world of Islam in which are 374,000,000 souls waiting to be led to Christ.

"ISLAM AT MID-CENTURY"

REPORT OF A STUDY CONFERENCE

May 29th-31st 1952

The Hartford Seminary Foundation

"Ye come not together for the better but for the worse." So S. Paul wrote to Corinth in a passage which may seem somewhat inappropriate to the introduction of a Conference Report. In any event ours was not a conference of quarrelsome Corinthians, but of sober folk, bent on study not disputation. Yet it is well that we sometimes remember that conferences, like marriages, are "for better or for worse" and that if we meet and discuss and separate with a satisfaction in an occasion only, airing out, but not progressing in, the issues we face, we may actually disserve our purpose. When times are urgent and tasks big, we need to beware lest our own standards of evaluation are too short or too lenient. If these are small when our objectives are large, what can be the benefit? The "worst" of conferences is that they are tempted to look upon themselves as ends instead of means and often conclude when they are only beginning.

Having, however, been honest with the danger we sometimes are to ourselves, let us hasten to add that, by and large, this was a Conference for the better—for the better understanding of the contemporary Muslim world and the better fulfilment of the obligations of the Christian in and to it. It was an attempt to unite in study of Islam as it finds itself in the middle of this bewildering Century and to concert our minds and wills in confronting that situation in terms of the responsibility it places upon Christian truth and love. The residential meeting was made possible by the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, whose five-year grant-in-aid to the Kennedy School of Missions provided, among other things, for such Area Conferences on the problems of our day. It is hoped that there will be similar Conferences later, on India, Africa and Latin America. For a variety of reasons the Muslim Lands Department was given the first opportunity. It was happy to be able to bring to-

gether a fairly representative group, some forty strong, including missionaries, actual and potential, students of the area in cultural and diplomatic fields, scholars and administrative personnel. Most of the countries of the Near East and also Iran, Pakistan and the Farther East, were represented in some sense. We suffered from the absence of some who could not be present, whose contribution would have been most welcome. There were Muslims as well as Christians in our number. After an initial welcome voiced by the President of the Foundation, Dr. Russell Henry Stafford, we settled down, with the overtones of a severe rain-storm, to the first of the five addresses which made up the planned program. Each address was followed by discussion bearing on its particular theme. There were two further sessions, lasting five hours in all, devoted to a wide review of contemporary Muslim-Christian relations. This provided an unhurried occasion—without prepared papers but against the background of the earlier talks—for a full exchange of thought and view.

(1) The Present Situation in the Muslim World

(a) Social and Economic Issues in the Middle East.

Mr. Harvey P. Hall, Editor of the Middle East Journal, Washington.

Professor Edwin E. Calverley presiding.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the close inter-action between the economic, social, political and cultural aspects of a community. But it is important to call attention to it when considering attempts to bring advancement to an under-developed society. For it has been abundantly demonstrated that if attention is given, say, to the economic field alone progress will be hampered by the lack of attention to others—for example, the fields of education and health, or the development of a sense of social responsibility. More than that, advancement in one field may actually work to the detriment of others. For example, progress in agricultural techniques without due attention to the conditions of

labor, can aggravate the evils of an already outmoded social structure.

This interaction of all elements in society poses an extremely difficult problem for the Point Four Program or any similar plan for development. The answer obviously lies in a broad approach by which a number of basic problems are attacked simultaneously. This fact has been recognized by the Egyptian Government, whose constant slogan has been a fight against the three recognized enemies: Poverty, Ignorance and Disease. Egypt, indeed, affords an excellent example of the principle of inter-action, because here we find the evils particularly virulent. But whereas, in Egypt, the basic problems and the need for attacking them simultaneously are generally recognized, there is difference of opinion and even opposition when it comes to applying the indicated remedies. Poverty cannot be eased without a fundamental reformation in the land tenure system, but this in turn involves financial interests vested in the social order as well as in the economic. An attack on poverty and ill-health results in a larger population—a problem now very acute in Egypt. In its train comes under-employment (and hence a return to poverty) or unemployment and a drift of the population to the cities. An obvious solution to this new dilemma is the development of urban industry, but this in turn has profound effects on the country's economic and social structure. To complicate further these domestic problems of growth and adjustment in Egypt are several further factors: (1) The country's heavy reliance on a single cash crop, cotton, and therefore its dependence on cotton speculators and world market conditions. This makes for an unhealthy situation in a country seventy per cent of whose population lives at subsistence level. (2) The question of Egypt's political relations with Great Britain and the West, which distracts its attention from domestic problems of development. (3) A popular resistance to change and development, for which Islam must share some of the responsibility.

Similar political and economic issues are present in one form or another in each of the Middle Eastern countries. There is the supply of water and its utilization. It might be

supposed that since this is largely a technical problem it would be readily susceptible of solution. But even here knotty questions arise for which technology has no answer of itself—the international character of some of the waterways and the distribution and apportionment of water once it is provided. Land tenure, too,—considered by many to be the basic socio-economic problem facing the Middle East today—involves many difficult issues. Another item with wide ramifications is the provision of capital—the freeing of timid domestic capital for long-term enterprises and the attraction of an adequate inflow of capital from abroad. In this regard it has to be noted that there are strong religious factors militating against initiative. Domestic capital is timid not only because of the prevailing sense of insecurity, but because of scruples against investment. The Muslim mind has not yet effectively thought out the difference the Qur'an recognizes between profit and interest. Moreover, concentrations of capital in the hands of the land-owing 'aristocracy' delays the growth of an investing 'middle class'. As for foreign capital investment, the deterrents of the political instability are still massive. Recent events in Iran and Egypt can hardly be said to attract the foreign investor. Other needs in this general field are the extension of production to cash crops and industry, with the attendant problems of standardization and marketing, the growth of technical education and the reduction of political tensions, domestic and foreign. All these are part of the picture of social advance in the Middle East, and are dependent in turn on the freeing of the Middle Eastern mind for creative and experimental thinking.

Discussion following Mr. Hall's paper centered mainly around this final point: the relation of the West, politically, and of the Church religiously, to the inner sources and sanctions of desirable social and economic change in the Muslim East. It was argued that backwardness was to be laid entirely at the door of the old "colonialism"—a point of view which is readily understandable but is neither a complete nor a constructive diagnosis. Our concern is rather with the per-

sistence of the problem in the era of independence and with means of serving a solution in the new day. Point Four necessarily came under discussion here as being itself involved in the same dilemma as local pioneers of social betterment through economic change. How are the underlying spiritual conditions and the mental pre-requisites of its success to be compassed by what is a program within a foreign policy? Clearly here is a vital need which can only be served by diplomats who transcend normal diplomacy and by the accredited 'private' ambassadors of the Kingdom of Heaven.

(2) The Present Situation in the Muslim World.

(b) The Social Changes and Religion.

President Emeritus Bayard Dodge of Beirut, Lebanon.

Professor Edwin E. Calverley presiding.

During a whole century the Western world has been trying to adapt itself to the machine age, to science and modern technology. The Muslim world has been obliged to adjust itself to these innovations during a single generation. Before the First World War the life of Muslim communities in the Near East was much as it had been from the time of Saladin. Now secularism in commercialized form has come in like a flood. Muslims of the old school are shocked by the freedom and license of modern life. On numerous occasions Muslims parents have begged me to protect their sons from "evil (Christian) influences". On the other hand this "modernism" is leading to extensive legal and social changes. In most Muslim countries the use of the Sharī'ah Law has been restricted to the control of questions of personal status, family relationships and the "awqāf." As there are a quarter of a million marriages and nearly seventy thousand divorces every year in Egypt alone, the Sharī'ah Law still has a large part to play. It has itself been considerably modified in recent years. Scruples against payment of interest are being slowly overcome, although it is understood that the Saudi Arabian Currency Organisation, lately formed into a na-

tional bank, will not pay interest. Although Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, has recently uttered a 'fatwa' opposed to women's suffrage, Turkey and Syria both allowed women to vote at their elections in 1950. The President of the 'Ulemā' of Pakistan has also issued an opinion in favor of women's suffrage.

This emancipation of women is perhaps the most important movement taking place in the world today. In the great cities of the Muslim world it has already revolutionized the life of the rich and it is starting to affect the poorer classes. Two especially important aspects of this change are: (a) The young mothers are much more fitted to mould the minds of their children in the impressionable years. In "An Arab Tells his Story," Edward Atiyah speaks of "illiterate women whose minds encompassed nothing beyond the elementary facts of biological and domestic life—birth, circumcision, marriage, pregnancy, divorce, death, mourning, cooking, personal adornment." What besides superstition and bigotry did these mothers have to pass on to their offspring? Teen age brides knew little of hygiene. A third or more of their babies died in infancy, or, if they lived, were victims of trachoma or other serious disease. Today there is a widespread movement to educate girls, to defer marriage until at least the age of sixteen, and to encourage the idea of equal partnership. The hopeless stagnation of the old harem system is giving way before the desire for progress. (b) Women are being freed for civic and social responsibility in the community and it is becoming possible for them to use their leisure and to bring the gifts which men lack to the service of the community.

Another factor of incalculable importance is the development of technology and mechanisation. During the period of less than four years in which the Marshall Plan operated in Turkey, it provided over $153,000,000 for economic development. The Export-Import Bank granted $34,000,000 in loans. As a result coal, iron, copper, chrome and manganese mines, steel mills, hydro-electric plants and factories of many types are being developed in modern Turkey. Harbors are

being modernized. Turkish airways are carrying 75,000 passengers a year. 14,300 miles of state highway, 16,700 miles of provincial road and 94,000 miles of village road are in process of construction. Cotton cultivation has been increased by 36%. Similar sums have been appropriated for development by Turkey itself. $400,000,000 is assigned to Greece and Turkey under the Mutual Security Act of 1951, with a further $160,000,000 for Iran and the countries of the southern Near East. The machine age is creating a new 'middle class' of professional men, officials and engineers. Though in progressive spirit this section of the community promises great things, it needs also to beware of a materialistic outlook.

The petroleum industry is, of course, the most conspicuous, almost fantastic, example of industrialisation. Before the petroleum boom, the revenues of Saudi Arabia were about $16,000,000 per year. Now the royalties from oil alone total over $100,000,000. Kuwait's oil revenues, if divided among her 150,000 people would mean something like $2,500 for each family annually. Shaikh 'Alī of Qaṭar rules 25,000 Bedouin in a land without a city. His oil royalty is already half a million dollars yearly. In these desert lands nomads are learning to drive trucks and handle heavy machinery. They are building homes, wearing modern clothes and accumulating savings in a bank! New refineries are to be built at Aden, Sidon, Cairo and elsewhere. The steady movement for the settlement of nomads in Arabia, Iraq and other areas is of obvious significance. It is made possible by the development, conservation and mechanical pumping of water.

Members of the younger generation are hypnotized by the lure of these material developments. The glories of a future paradise are eclipsed by the marvels which they see before their eyes. The quest of the spiritual is crowded out by the seduction of the material. Instead of praying for rain one sinks a well or dams a river. Aeroplanes, not intercessions, will combat locusts. D.D.T. will be more effective against malaria than a score of recited Suras. There is an

obsession to become rich, regardless of how. Business houses keep two sets of books—one for the tax collector and another for the partners. The fine old sense of honor which distinguished many Muslim merchants is being lost. In the past a good Muslim found prestige in piety and orthodoxy. Today men want showy houses, large cars, extravagant night clubs. Their wives become the show windows of their prosperity. Religion is no longer the basis of education and of social life, as it used to be. Nationalism is the master of Islam rather than its disciple. State education does not give religion primacy. In the new Syrian primary school curriculum three or four hours a week are assigned to religion, nine to mathematics. In the secondary schools only one hour a week is devoted to religion. In Egypt and Iraq the time is even less. The spread of scientific knowledge tends to make dogma seem superfluous.

On the other hand religious questioning, causing indifference to orthodoxy, sometimes channels itself into active philanthropy, striving to express a religious loyalty through service. There are Muslim societies organizing schools, hospitals, clinics, Red Crescent societies and Boy Scout troops. Governments, too, are giving their interest, revenues and leadership to plans for social welfare. The Shah of Iran, for example, is dividing some of his royal estates into peasant homesteads. Egypt is developing social security. Iraq devoted 50% of her budget in 1950 to agriculture, public health, education and public works, and the Lebanon 40%.

These, then, are the contrasts of the Muslim world today. A decay and a breakdown in the old standards of belief and conduct—both for good and ill. The good lies in increasing toleration, freedom, dignity and material happiness. The ill comes from the menace of irreligion, self-seeking and licentiousness. But at least the machine age has made our problems common both in West and East. Let us put aside superiority and mistrust. As partners together may we all, Muslims and Christians together, help one another to achieve not only material reconstruction but also spiritual progress which will lead to brotherhood and peace.

(3) TRENDS IN MUSLIM THOUGHT AND FEELING. 1.

Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Director of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal.

Professor Malcolm Pitt presiding.

I shall not attempt a descriptive statement nor a geographical survey, but rather an analysis, intended not to seal judgments but to elicit rejoinders. I regard my inability to include Indonesia as a matter of serious apology. For the first point is the possibility that there is, or will be, a shift in the centre of gravity of the Islamic world from the Near East to the Indian ocean. Pakistan and Indonesia are the two largest Muslim countries, and after them India is third, in point of Muslim population. About sixty per cent of the world's Muslims live east of Karachi. There, more than in the Near East except Turkey, Muslims are facing their two chief contemporary problems—the working out of a modern social order and the learning of the art of co-operative living in our shrinking world.

Islam is a religion, and, like all great faiths, quite literally infinite. It is the point at which its adherents are in touch with the infinitude of the Divine. Like each religion, it is, in some senses, all things to all men. In addition to what it is by definition, there is what it is in fact in every individual case. When we say Islam is such and such, we must remember that it is also the personal religious life, shallow or deep, distorted or magnificent, saintly or sinful, of every individual Muslim.

When we consider, as we must, the impersonal thing abstracted from its living adherents, we could define Islam as an organized effort to do God's will, based on revelation as to what that will is. Hence the community is integral to the religion. Islam has from the beginning been a social Gospel. It is a revelation of how men ought to live together. The laws and structure of Muslim society are based, through the Qur'an, on the eternal laws of God. The Islamic community is, for the Muslim, the Kingdom of God on earth. This means that the history of the community is 'sacred'. It is

not merely the record of how Muslims have lived: it is the illustration of how God intended that they should live.

Here we come upon the kernel of the modern Muslims' discomfiture—the burden of a recent history which seemed to have let them down, of a weakness in the world which did not coincide with the 'truth' about Islam. The once successful enterprise for the redemption of mankind through its Islamization seemed to have halted and lagged. Peoples living in other than the Islamic way had been allowed to become more powerful and more successful. There was one comparable medieval set-back, ending the Arab Empire and the first social creation of Islam, namely, the Mongol invasions. Islam survived that 'defeat' through the energies of Sufism and by the conversion of its conquerors. In other hands than those of the Arabs the Muslim historical destiny was resumed, in the brilliance of the 16th and 17th centuries. But how will the second, the contemporary, crisis be surmounted? It is not ours to prophesy. What is clear is that it is the endeavor to rehabilitate its on-going history which is the fundamental fact of present-day Islam. Muslims wish to re-instate Islamic history in its true, Divinely-ordained, function, and to do so through their own efforts. This is, so to speak, the theological imperative within current Islamic social reform. It has two sides—the community's external relations and its internal order. Islam being what it is, Muslims feel they must solve the problem or perish. It is not only the welfare of their community which is at stake but the validity of their faith.

Muslim intellectual leadership is alert to these needs. It has not yet worked out satisfactorily an intellectual or a practical formulation in which to integrate dynamic growth and Islamic theology and law. Theology in Islam has always been at heart apologetic; that is, its role has been to defend the faith—and to do so in practical terms. This apologetic is not only a thing of words, but of deeds. Pakistan for example is an act of practical apologetic—an endeavour to show, both to Muslims and to the world, that the Islamic way is the best way. The way of words leads on occasion to unbridled

romanticism, but the way of deeds is more disciplined. One has a right to ask for intellectual honesty in apology but we should beware of expecting in Islam an exalted intellectualism, like that, say, of the Greeks. The striking thing about contemporary Islam is the will to effect this active re-exemplification of the Islamic way as the good way. Their very perplexity in the endeavour is a measure of their maturity and sincerity. I submit, perhaps provocatively, that in their task they have a profound willingness to learn—not merely technology, but the deep things of the spirit, the will and nature of God.

Politically, it is true, they wish to be left alone. The effort to shake off old domination still pre-occupies. Yet we and they live in a day when civilizations are inter-penetrating. Since we are being more and more thrown together they and we have somehow to evolve the new ingredient of compatibility. This learning to get along with other peoples is one of the chief contemporary problems. We in the West face it—not least in theology. The Church has never yet seriously considered the challenge represented by the faiths of other people. This is the call of the 20th Century, no less than Greek thought was the challenge of the first centuries and science the challenge of the 19th. A positive facing on our part of this summons could greatly help Muslims for their part to face it also.

From this point of view, the creativity of Pakistan was also destructive. For as an act of insistence that Islamic history can proceed only with Muslims in control it greatly disserved the need to learn compatibility and left the Muslims of India bewildered. All this, however, is not yet much on the mind of Muslims. What of ourselves? How little real communication there is between us and them. How bitter is their sense of being misunderstood; Western misconceptions on the top of Western misdeeds. How often we have failed their faith in liberalism and hindered its enlargement. Despite appearances to the contrary, I believe that the Muslim world, aware of its new and almost overwhelming problems of modernity, is looking for friendship from Christians. On the whole I believe that the Muslim world is very sub-

stantially more ready to seek that friendship than the Christian world is to give it. But it is a willingness to learn which is masked behind the search for friendship, the search for someone they can trust. Whom in the world today can they trust? I wish I could say: "The Christians". My submission is that the Muslims also wish that they could say it too.

(4) Trends in Muslim Thought and Feeling. II.
Professor Edward J. Jurji, Princeton Theological Seminary.
Professor Malcolm Pitt presiding.

Were the Christian able adequately to grasp the true genius of Islam and were the Muslim ready to apprehend the ultimacy of Christianity the problem of co-existence would become proportionately easier. In thinking about recent trends in Islamic thought and feeling, one needs to bear in mind the fact that Islam successfully built a bridge between the East and the West, and that its contemporary pattern is one of a non-technical culture in a world whose over-riding cultural pattern is technical. Hence the pathos of Islamic weakness in contrast to the physically powerful, technological West.

The core of the life, thought and structure of Islam is religious. Therefore only a theological approach will help to set forth the true picture of Islam today. When we contemplate the Muslim world we are impressed with its fluid, and sometimes ambiguous, aspect. Modern Islam maintains in large measure the characteristic self-sufficiency which isolates it from fruitful contact with other faiths and questions the validity of non-Islamic theism. It is marked by the exaltation of a system, a tradition, a heritage, instead of contrition before Allah and penitent acceptance of the comfort which He bestows upon all who will trust in His righteousness. In that sense it is nugatory of the highest insights of Islam itself: it is a casting off of humility and true piety, in a pre-occupation with prestige and community. We cannot but regret the unhappy aspects of Islam symbolized in the exclusively political concerns of the former Grand Mufti of

Palestine, who is by office a high religious personage from whom a more spiritual leadership might have been expected. It is such quality of mind which often makes spiritually abortive the dynamism of Islam. The decline of Sufism from its former splendor has contributed to this situation. We must await a more radical theological self-criticism in Islam and a more creative loyalty to its own vocation of submission to the Lord of the worlds. The weakness of human self-sufficiency and the proneness to "impious piety" is not, of course, limited to Islam. It has marred Western culture also and made inroads within the confines of the Church. It may be studied in relation to Islam in what we will call the "visible" and the "invisible" within Muslim thought. By these terms we mean the features readily discernible to the observer and those which are of the theological essence.

In the first realm, we note the contradiction and the recalcitrance of modern Islam. This contradictory character may be studied in the tension between the secular and the orthodox, between freedom and authority, between integration and fragmentation, between the old faith and the new history. Christians, for their part, share the disadvantages of these same contradictions. But Christian thought is self-critical, whereas Muslims are not currently thinking deeply about these matters. They tend rather to react assertively in face of modern thought. The relation of the present to the past—a problem inseparable from time and change—needs more radical attention than Muslims have yet normally given. Apology has not fully grappled with the relation between the authorities of faith and science, of religion and other truth. The freedom of the individual vis-a-vis the community and freedom of movement of conscience within the community are questions on which much of Islam is still inarticulate.

Behind the recalcitrance of Islam is a complex of repressed and pent-up emotion, which is in part the residue of long hostility between East and West. Hence it can hardly be understood apart from the disloyalties of Christianity. The issue is one that must be faced afresh from both sides—we from ours and they from theirs. It would seem that mod-

ern Muslims have been quite unable as yet to circumvent this historic enmity so as to come to an open-hearted reckoning with the Christian Church. That this is so is fully attested in their thought and literature. There is as yet no Muslim work or writer dealing in any profound or even adequate way with Christianity. Yet from every point of view—exterior and interior—the Christian relations of Islam are one of its most evident obligations. But we must remember too that the generality of Christians have not greatly served the dissipation of this estrangement.

As for the ultimate or the "invisible" realm it may be studied in respect of the Muslim attitude to final reality and to man. Ultimate reality in Islam is Allah. But the conception of Allah restricts the role of supernatural mystery. It is not given to the Muslim believer to approach and to know God in the intimacy and fulness which belong to the believer through Christ. The disavowal of the Incarnation is a deep impoverishment of theology, both intellectual and devotional, even when Muslims, Sufis or otherwise, transcend its limitations. It follows inevitably that the status of man is similarly ambiguous. The true meaning of manhood is shrouded because of the obscuring of the redemptive purpose of God and of the consequent call to human transformation through spiritual renewal. We glimpse this difference in the Muslim and Christian doctrines of man when we remember that the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation —disallowed in Islam—is as significant about man in his Godward calling as it is about God in His manward grace.

Faced by this wide divergence between Christianity and Islam, Christian witness in the Muslim world, can achieve intercourse between the two only as a ministering Church gives sympathetic support to an Islamic revival streaming from within that faith. Muslim reformers must be encouraged to work for a spiritual, moral and cultural revival. The Incarnate Lord Who is the truth because He discloses the truth about man's disorder and God's purpose to restore man to faith can only be preached in Muslim countries when Christians bear to the Muslims the same love which their Lord bore to them.

(5) The Implications of Communism for Islam

Mr. Manfred Halpern, of Washington, D. C.
Professor J. Maurice Hohlfeld presiding.

In a paper which may later be available for publication, Mr. Halpern examined the doctrines and objectives of Communism from the point of view of their significance for, and possible appeal to, the peoples of the Muslim world, and discussed the varieties of Muslim reaction, radical and conservative, articulate or implicit, to the tenets of Marxism and Stalinism, in the context of the present needs and temper of the world of Islam.

The foregoing five papers, here briefly summarized, constituted the pre-arranged substance of the Conference. The two final sessions were aimed at a meeting of minds on the supreme question of Christian communication to Islam. How can we enter into fruitful intercourse with Muslims in the present situation: what do we seek to do in and for the world of Islam: how shall we utter the Word we have in trust so that it becomes a veritable word to the heirs of the Qur'an: how may we equip ourselves and those who follow us for this Christian contact of souls which is the indispensable condition of communication: in short, how can we best share the purpose of God and prepare the way of His patience and His glory?

It was explained that the Foundation was concerned in a practical fashion with these questions, as a body responsible for the studies of intending servants of the world Church and as the home of a Quarterly publication devoted to just these topics and intended as a "forum" for their pursuit. Moreover the Conference was one in which the so-called professional missionaries had the opportunity of counsel and criticism from those whose perspectives were political or commercial or academic. Since "the West" was to the average Muslim an undifferentiated quantity, there was need to correct the isolatedly Christian character of some forms of missionary activity. There was even greater need to face the forms of 'secular' relationship with Islam with the urgent

importance of appreciating the total significance of their activities in the Muslim setting. It is only reasonable that the doing should be aware of the undoing, since it is never exempt from it. The non-missionary participants said that to overhear the contemporary mission talk about itself was, to them, one of the chief attractions of the Conference. Their contributions were certainly valued.

The fundamental problem might be described as the tension between Christian truth and Christian love, arising within the Christian mission by virtue of the human frailties of those who serve it. There is, of course, no final incompatibility between truth and love; but to speak the truth in love is an exacting vocation. It was pointed out that there is a sense in which the love of our neighbour, involving genuine respect for all that he is in his total personality, precludes the criticism that is implied in the fact of the mission itself. Would it not appear that the supremely Christian duty in the world today was not an uncompromising presentation of an exclusive faith, but rather the endeavour to enter sympathetically into the values in non-Christian religions and to foster reconciliation in terms of mutual forbearance? But can forbearance in any real sense go with doctrinal self-assertion? In other words is there a final dichotomy between the spirit of Jesus and the faith of the Church, between loving our human brethren and disallowing their traditional religion?

Against this fear—with which it is salutary to reckon—it was urged that Christian truth and love are only separately safe when they are properly together. There is no unloving implication in the conviction of the preaching Church. The Gospel is a tremendous positive, not a carping negative. Admittedly it judges, but it judges in order to save. And it judges all equally: to be its custodians is not to be personally censorious, nor yet personally superior. When served in the humility which alone is fitting, the Gospel does love's work in truth's way. We must of course beware eternally of any proprietary monopolizing of the inheritance of Christ which fulfills itself unpredictably where-ever it goes. We must re-

sist relentlessly the description of the Christian mission as 'foreign'. For where-ever it be it is at home. 'Foreign-ness' is a concept only existing by virtue of nationality. And nationality is precisely that which Christ transcends, surmounts and hallows in inclusiveness. Servants of that mission who fail there, are not only failing in love. They are failing in truth. Indeed in the last analysis all Christian failures are failures in both. It would be a false sentimentalizing of love to withhold in its name the fulness of Christ. It would be a false form of loyalty to truth to proclaim it in anything but the utmost respect for the minds and wills of those who hear.

A precise point at which the foregoing becomes an issue, it was stated, lies in the criticism provoked by some thinking Muslims of the active forms of Christian missionary ministry. The pressing needs of many Muslim lands arise from poverty, ignorance and disease. A characteristic form of Christian response has been medicine, hospitals, schools, clinics and rural welfare. This response has arisen from the fundamental Christian concern for people in their plight. Action has been made articulate by preaching. It has been explained that this activity of love is patterned on the love of God and energized by Christ's spirit and example, in obedience to His command. But it can look differently to those who are sensitively aware of their own social evils, embarrassed to find 'foreigners' tending them and suspicious of the fact that admittedly worth-while service is made the occasion of religious 'propaganda'. In its most outspoken forms, this criticism even suggests that a somewhat mean advantage is being taken of the weak, the needy and the ignorant. They are being exploited under pressure of kindness to become apostates to God and traitors to their land. Fantastic as the suspicion may sound, belied as it may be by decades of disinterested service, it none the less makes sense to many Muslims in the present temper of their world. No Christian of course will be intimidated out of ministry or paralysed by insinuation. But "let not thy good be evil spoken of" is an apostolic injunction. He must be sensitive

to every form of reaction and patient, giving no offense in anything. In any event these tasks are more and more passing to the local authorities—a very proper development. The Christian spirit will never lack means of expression. But it will rejoice in and unobtrusively assist the national campaigns against every form of human misery or privation. To the complaint that it is not 'disinterested' it must bring a new conception to its critics of what disinterestedness does and does not mean, always searching itself by the right criteria. As with Christ Himself so with His Church. The works of compassion were never grounds of allegiance but rather tokens of God and patterns of discipleship.

Turning from these basic questions of missionary relatedness, the Conference took up the study of actual Muslim-Christian contacts in this generation. It did so in terms of four general items:

(a) Christian-Muslim relations are inevitably mixed with other patterns of relationship—political, economic and social. It was strongly emphasized that the Christian mission, while in no sense contracting out of its Christian responsibility for its home countries, should none the less strenuously cleanse, and where it cannot cleanse, repudiate, all that by Christian standards is unworthy in the relationship of nations. It was felt, for example, that a Muslim who happened to be Egyptian and a Christian who happened to be British would find fruitful religious contact almost impossible unless there was frankness, penitence, forbearance and love concerning those facts which, otherwise, would dog their path. To achieve a genuine exchange of religious witness and experience over such hurdles calls for sensitivity, imagination and open-heartedness. If we covet these we must also offer them. This problem is more than the facile—and in the Muslim context deceptive—notion of the separation of "Church and State." It is rather a discrimination between the obedience of the spiritual man and the recalcitrance of the natural. Incidentally the second distinction is not so articulate in Islam, though the facts to warrant and suggest it are, properly interpreted, abundant.

(b) Christian-Muslim relations take place in the context of the actual world. It is in no sense a competition of religions in a vacuum. Rather the relevance and call of Christianity must be proclaimed against the background of those insistent problems which are the immediate concern of all earnest Muslims. Disease, inequality, graft, indifference, materialism, population pressures, religious decline, pride, bigotry, sin—only in the living context of what Muslims feel Islam itself should come to mean in view of these evils can the Gospel be proclaimed. Citizenship, family planning, attitudes to parenthood, democracy, responsibilities of property, the positive answer to Communism—all these, which exercise the Muslim mind itself, must be made to illuminate the nature of the personal revolution which Christianity proposes.

(c) Christian-Muslim relations ensue with Islam in a fluid state. Though well-defined and authoritarian, Islam is yet in process of re-definition. Muslims themselves are vigorously critical of the Islam that is, in the name of the Islam that ought to be. We must relate ourselves wisely and patiently to this process. It would be wrong to take up an attitude which condemned Islam to unchanging sameness. We must question whether we should even dispute interpretations which may be historically suspect, since they may be morally desirable. It is idle only to say in respect of even some romantic version: "This is not Islam." For in one sense Islam is what Muslims believe. If this leaves us still in need of a definition of 'the Muslim'—a need which sends us back in a circle to Islam—it is none the less they who must decide. The Christian aim must be rooted in hope and love, always striving to utter the relevance of Christ to just those issues which make the pregnant debate which goes on both in deed and word within Islam. Within this debate there are the contrasted groups, the conservatives and the progressives. Towards each our duty is clear; to minister Christ the truth, the guide in perplexity, the answer to the fear of the obscurantist, the challenge to all human self-confidence. Both the anchored and the unanchored have a claim upon us for a

sympathetic relating of Christian doctrine to their anxiety or hope.

(d) Finally we must concern ourselves with actual ways of achieving, in personal, intimate terms, this relationship between Christian and Muslim. It was agreed that the possibility of mutual worship, common prayer and study, could be much more widely explored. Groups in Istanbul, Cairo and Beirut have met together for frank and open exchange of experience and conviction. Why not in New York and elsewhere? The labor of knowing Islam is a duty well calculated to fructify the Christian witness. Where can we most truly pursue both, most fully know and be most fully known, than in friendship under the common burdens of this mid-Century? Such an intercourse would stimulate our expression of Christ to those also who refused to share it. It would serve two further obligations. We urgently need a new, virile, intimate Christian enterprise of writing for the Muslim world. We must attend more resolutely to the confusion of religious vocabulary in both Arabic and the languages of Indo-Pakistan.

But if the foregoing expects a new openness on the part at least of certain Muslims, how much does it also turn upon strong-calibred Christian apostleship, able to understand and discharge its trust with patient steadfastness and imaginative initiative. We must strive to proclaim the Christian vocation to this splendid but exacting business and equip for their calling those whom it fires. Alongsidedness must be our watchword. Can we take upon our minds and into our hearts the doubts which beset the earnest Muslim in the presence of Christianity? If we have often talked *to* Muslims, perhaps we have not sufficiently talked *with* them. There is a real sense in which every Christian is a 'muslim' (small 'm')—one who has submitted to the revelation of God in Christ. Our task is to relate that whole-hearted 'islam' of ours to the vast, historic, living Islam of our own bewildered time.

On this note the discussion turned inevitably into intercession and the seeking of the Holy Spirit. After prayer the Conference concluded.